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ART. I.—THE EVOLUTION OF THEOLOGY.

1. *The Nineteenth Century*, Nov. to Feb. Articles by Mr. GLADSTONE, Professor HUXLEY, and Professor DRUMMOND. (London, 1885-1886.)
2. *The Nineteenth Century*, March and April. Professor HUXLEY on 'The Evolution of Theology.' (London, 1886.)
3. *Nature and the Bible*. By Professor REUSCH. Translated by Kathleen Lyttelton. (Edinburgh, 1886.)
4. *Les Origines*. Par E. de PRESSENSÉ. (Paris, 1883.)
5. *Natural Causes and Supernatural Seemings*. By HENRY MAUDSLEY, M.D. (London, 1886.)
6. *Prolegomènes de l'Histoire des Religions*. Par A. RÉVILLE. 4ème ed. (Paris, 1886.)

THE title of Professor Huxley's essay announces to all whom it may concern that he is prepared to account for Theology as a product of natural causes. He renounces, indeed, the intention to interfere with beliefs which anybody holds sacred. But we are unable to attach much meaning to the disclaimer; for how can he trace to natural causes, what we hold to be due to supernatural, without interfering with our belief? However, we do not in the least complain of him for doing so; he is bound to declare his opinion and to give his reasons for it. We do complain that he is not able even to renounce the intention of attacking us without displaying in the very act of doing so how ignorant of our intellectual position he either is or affects to be, and how supreme his contempt for us is. 'With theology as a code of dogmas which are to be believed, or at any rate repeated, under penalty of present or future punishment, or as a storehouse of anæsthetics for those who find the pains of life too hard to bear, I have nothing to do.' Now there you have the physical philosopher all over. Ac-

VOL. XXII.—NO. XLIV.

T

customed in his own private cave to find truth in the discovery of physical causes, he does not believe in any other method of ascertaining truth. And beliefs otherwise ascertained he does not allow to be genuine beliefs at all. He regards them either as hypocritical pretences or as emotional states; weak and abject ones too.

He ought to be aware that there are many convinced believers in Theology who are no more ruled by the fear of punishment or the craving after anæsthetics than he is himself. They may indeed be 'guided in their dealings with theology by considerations different from those which would be thought appropriate if the problem lay in the province of chemistry or mineralogy.' And the same might be said of the historian, if he thinks that life and history lead him to the knowledge of agencies different from those material elements with which these sciences deal. But the true ruling principle of these sciences does not consist in their materialism; it is a moral principle, and is found in the determination of the enquirer to follow without prejudice wherever the phenomena lead him. Now the honest theologian is in like manner prepared to accept natural causes where the phenomena are natural, and only recognizes supernatural when the phenomena are such as to require them. And he may claim to be far more in harmony with the true principles of chemistry and mineralogy than the enquirer (so-called) who examines religious phenomena with the predetermination that they must be physically accounted for, and ignores the most important of them if they do not square with his prepossessions.

For our own part we are delighted that Professor Huxley has taken up this subject, and we earnestly hope that men of science who think with him will not cease to pursue it until they have dealt with the central principles of the theory of which Dr. Huxley—he must pardon us for saying it—has barely touched the fringe. In plain terms, they must show that the essentials of Christian faith have arisen from the natural causes to which Professor Huxley has traced some excessively minor constituents of Old Testament religion. Ever since Evolution was first propounded it has been foreseen that it must one day come into conflict with Theology, and that if a boundary could not somehow be arranged between them, one or other must perish. We do not mean merely that Evolution and Theology seemed to give different accounts of creation, and of the connexion of God's providence with the laws of nature, but a still more important matter than this—namely, the question whether Theology itself, as a state

of mind displayed by a certain animal, cannot be traced, like other characteristics of body and mind which distinguish the species, to the operation of natural causes. Might it be that just as the natural habit of eating the branches of high trees encourages the elongation of necks, and by natural selection produces at length a species called the giraffe, made as we see, so the natural fact of trusting and fearing powerful chieftains in life and imagining their ghosts after death, and the natural fact of vivid dreaming, and the natural fact of living in a world so little known and so fearsome as this, combine with other like facts, all equally natural, to produce at length a theological animal called man.

Now, in the first place, we must remark that upon this hypothesis itself, Theology ought to have a hold upon man analogous to that which is possessed by any other of the qualities of body or mind with which Evolution has endowed him. Evolution, though it holds out the prospect of possible change in the distant future yet is, for the existing species, a watchword of stability. The Ethiopian cannot change his skin or the leopard his spots when either creature learns that these ornaments of his person are due to Evolution. Man does not practise the operations of seeing and hearing, or those of reasoning and remembering, with the less confidence because he has become convinced that his ability to perform them is due to Evolution. Why, then, should Evolution in Theology be a watchword of instability? why should not Theology, like the other inheritances of the ages, be for those species in which it has been evolved an inalienable necessity of mind? When we combine this reflection with the fact, undoubted and conceded by evolutionists, that an unknowable power lies behind all natural progress, we come upon an argument of no contemptible force for the knowledge of religion upon agnostic principles—if such an expression may be pardoned. And that similar reflections have occurred to agnostic thinkers themselves, will be plain to those who have read the interesting works of Mr. Fiske.

However, the Church stands committed to the view that the supernatural, as well as Nature, has played a part in the evolution of her Theology. For that very reason she is entitled to demand of her opponents proofs of the Natural Evolution of Theology which shall be accurate and complete. It will not do to permit presumptions in such a controversy. Of course, we do not mean that nothing is to be allowed for a failure in recovering missing links due to the loss of historical records, or that every article of the creed, the natural origin

of which cannot be proved, is for that reason supernatural. But every such failure does *something* to weaken the argument. And if there should be a total failure to connect the most important and essential articles of Theology with natural facts preceding, the argument must then be pronounced a total failure. Superficial connexions are of slight consequence; and it is the very note of an unscientific treatment to dwell upon them. If general statements without close application to all the facts, and especially the most cardinal facts, will serve, you may satisfactorily dispose of all geological deposits by an appeal to the deluge. And it is as scientific to presume theological evolution from connexions in the mere externals of religion as it would be to prove paternity by means of a resemblance in clothes.

It is therefore with the greatest interest that Theology watches the approach of the evolutionist invaders to the strongholds of her position. That some outposts have been driven in is a slight matter. The true struggle comes when the highest forms of theistic belief are to be traced to natural progress. Here must be shown the most scrupulous care to comprehend all the phenomena whose origin is to be traced. Here must be exercised the most conscientious fidelity in measuring the efficiency of causes and circumstances. Now it is but a few months ago that Theology received the assault of the greatest champion among evolutionists in the work of Mr. Herbert Spencer upon *Ecclesiastical Institutions*. That work has already been reviewed in our columns, and our verdict has been confirmed by every notice of the book which we have happened to see. It is a failure as undoubted as Napoleon's Waterloo. It makes a mighty to-do about what is superficial, to pass over everything that is essential. And if Mr. Spencer had treated any physical science in the manner in which he has treated Theology, he would never have obtained the name of a man of science, even of the lowest rank. We trust that the failure of this accomplished evolutionist, in the critical and decisive point of his argument against Theology, will be duly appreciated by all interested in the question.

We do not know whether it was the failure of his illustrious associate that moved Professor Huxley to take up the question, or whether he was provoked to it by some passages in the essay by which Professor Drummond amusingly wound up the Gladstone-Huxley controversy, politely dismissing both combatants from the field as equally behind the times. Professor Drummond's principle was that in the view of the

modern theologian the Bible 'is an evolution,'¹ in the earlier stage of which it is absurd to look for anything scientific. The principle we believe to be true. But it was thrown out by Mr. Drummond with very little explanation and very little precaution. It may well be that Professor Huxley was thus moved to state what, in his opinion, is the connexion of religion with Evolution, though without entering into an open controversy with a scientist whose evolutionism he probably considers too much tainted with religion to be legitimate. He would shrink, we suppose, from direct arguments with Professor Drummond upon the application of Evolution to Theology, much as a regular practitioner would refuse to meet a homœopathist in consultation. However this be, it is certain that for the purposes of any satisfactory treatment of the question the nature of progress in Theology will have to be far more closely stated than it has been by either professor. For our part we shall offer in the following pages some humble hints upon the manner in which Evolution can be applied to the phenomena of Theology, whether by the scientist or the theist. And first we must say a few words upon the mental basis of Evolution.

There can be no doubt that mental philosophy has played a leading part in producing the theory of Evolution.² In truth this theory, or any other which propounds a general law of the universe, must both come before the mind of man as the judge of its correctness, and also call the processes of the nature of man as the witness to its truth. We could not conceive, much less believe in a law which did not agree with the methods of conception to which our minds are forced by their inherent qualities and their observation of their own processes.

Thus, if there were no room left and no call felt for a connexion between God and the mind in the daily experience of life, it would be impossible for us to believe in God. We should all be agnostics, whatever profession of belief in an unknown and unknowable Being we might repeat by rote. The human mind is the only instrument we have for proving or accepting theories, and although it is bound to allow that its actual experience is slight in comparison to the vastness of the universe, yet every experience must in the last resort be judged by the mind according to its nature and its acquired habits. This is the subjective demand of the mind. And

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, February 1886, p. 210.

² See Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, ed. Bohn, p. 322 *sqq.*, and Professor Caird's chapter on 'Rational Cosmology as explained and criticized by Kant,' *Philosophy of Kant*, p. 561. Some interesting remarks on Kant's relations to Evolution will be found in Von Hartmann's work on *Darwinism*, p. 148 *sqq.* of the French translation (Paris, 1877).

just as creation, just as Providence could never be believed if they had not something akin to the daily experiences of the mind, so also it is with Evolution.

Again, it is plain that if Evolution be indeed the law of the universe, the mind and life of man is a part of the scene of its operation, and furnishes some of the objects on which observers see it at work. It is a very small part indeed of the field. Science is constantly showing us how small it is. But still it is that part of the field which is most closely subjected to our observation, and if we could not see in it such signs of Evolution as may reasonably be expected to be visible in so small a space, it would be impossible for us to believe in Evolution as a general law. However you look at the matter, it is from the mind of man as he lives his common life that Evolution issues, and to the mind of man as it lives and works that Evolution must return to be judged of and to be applied. In this sense man can neither believe nor understand any law nor any cause which is not anthropomorphic.

Now the mind of man is undoubtedly so framed, and his every-day observations of the world so ordered, that Evolution comes to him as a comprehensible and even a familiar idea. Everything is changing around him, everything is growing. It is the law of his thought that he must regard all things as the development of things previously existing. Whether he regards the universe or the smallest particle of matter that he is capable of perceiving, whether he directs his attention to human history, or natural history, or physical science, it is still the same; there is a constant production of new forms of being coming out of the old. And when he is told that new species of animals come out of the old he must needs confess that the fact, if such it be, is but a particular case of a system which is familiar to him, and a further example of a law which he well knew before.

And if he tries the theory upon his own mind and life, he is led in the same direction. His mind and his body are engaged in constant work, putting forth powers and producing results; and as their products change they change themselves. He is told by scientific persons that his body before birth has successively borne the embryo forms of various lower creatures. And the fact appears to man not so much a piece of curious information as a practical exhibition of the nature of life. For he remembers that within the period of his consciousness, he grew from being the congenial associate of puppies and kittens to being a recognized master in the animal world. He knows that he was not directly created, but that he had his origin

from parents, and that so it is with all the human life which he sees about him, or of which he reads in history. It has been evolved and is constantly proceeding on the same principle. If he is told that the whole system, and he himself among the rest, has been evolved from the lower forms of animal existence, he cannot deny that, though the stretch is a great one and requiring great proof, yet his consciousness, so far as he can trust it, falls in with the notion.

Evolution is also a law of his mental work. His thoughts, which are the works of his mind, and his actions, which are the works of his body, show a connexion between their respective stages similar to that which is exhibited by the stages of existence. One act rises out of another, one thought out of another, and it seems to us, regarding the matter from without, that if we could know exactly the condition of the body or the mind, and exactly the influences which are to bear upon it from without, we should be able to prophesy what the man will do or think, as we can prophesy the direction which a cannon ball will take if we know the forces which will bear upon it as it flies. And yet when we compare this statement with our own inward experience, we pause. We ask whether this is not carrying too far into the inward sphere associations which are derived from the outward. No doubt there is much witness in the inward life to such a view. A great part of our acts and a great part of our thoughts is caused and accounted for by our circumstances in their necessary action upon our constitution. But is all so caused? Is this the whole and sufficient account of human life? We cannot honestly say so. And, often as it has been attempted, no one has yet proved that man is capable, by the very make of his mind, and the nature of his self-consciousness, of regarding his thought and action as wholly evolved by nature and circumstance.

For there is a part of the human constitution which we cannot bring under nature or circumstance. We call it Personality, and its action we call Will. But by whatever name we call it, no statement of what man is, or how man acts, can ever be complete which omits it or ignores it. Whatever there may be in man's action which hangs together by a bond of necessity, and is evolved by a process like the budding of a tree, there must always be the essential difference between the man and the tree which is involved in the presence in man of this personal and voluntary element. And, however Kant may have led the way to the doctrine of Evolution, he never forgot the reality in man of this mysterious personal freedom.¹

¹ See Kant's section on the Possibility of Freedom in Harmony with

For this reason there must always lie a certain inconvenience, and the seed of possible error, in taking a word like Evolution, which the science of the time has deeply imbued with associations of the natural world, and applying it without restriction to the world of human thinking and willing, which contains a new element of so great importance. In that sphere with which Evolution has been altogether associated we find nature and nothing more. But in human actions there is nature and something more. Of course, we presume that Professor Huxley does not recognize the existence of this something more. He does not believe in the Will, or believes in it only as the necessary action of man's natural impulses; he does not believe in Personality, or believes in it only as the aggregate of man's qualities of body and mind. But neither he nor anyone has ever shown that man is capable of restricting Will and Personality to this physical meaning, and this he must show before he can treat the principles of Natural Evolution as a sufficient account of any great result of human thought. For instance, he would treat the degeneration of the Greeks into nature-worship and hero-worship as a theological evolution precisely parallel to the evolution of plants. But S. Paul says that because they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind. And we cannot deny that S. Paul's account of their change of mind agrees better than Professor Huxley's with our observation and consciousness. We know no action, and no result of human thought, into which the action of the human will does not enter to disturb, though by no means to destroy, the natural progress of the evolution.¹

the Universal Law of Natural Necessity critique (ed. Bohn), p. 333 *et seq.*

¹ See the remarks of Professor Huxley himself (*Lay Sermons*, p. 180): 'Even Theology, in her purest forms, has ceased to be anthropomorphic, however she may talk. Anthropomorphism has taken its stand in its last fortress—man himself. But science closely invests the walls, and philosophers gird themselves for battle upon the last and greatest of all speculative problems—Does human nature possess any free volitional or truly anthropomorphic element, or is it only the cunningest of Nature's clocks? Some, among whom I count myself, think that the battle will for ever remain a drawn one, and that for all practical purposes this result is as good as anthropomorphism winning the day.' We should think so; for if even man is not anthropomorphic, what *is* 'true anthropomorphism,' and where can the idea of it have come from? We would beg the reader to note that there was a time when Professor Huxley thought that Theology might disengage itself from anthropomorphism without ceasing to exist, and therefore that in it, as in other sciences, an account of the errors and prejudices which surrounded its earlier stages is not the same thing as an account of the science when finally evolved.

But S. Paul speaks here of something more than the action of the human Will interposing in and guiding religious evolution. He speaks also of God as in correspondence with the Will, to punish or to reward it by determining the evolution one way or other. This is to introduce in the universe at large a Person and a Will analogous to that which man and man's will are in his little world. The correspondence of this view of the universe to our human experience is beyond question. And Evolution has never been able to expel the will of God from the universe any more than the will of man from human nature. However complete be the work which the machine of Evolution performs, neither the making of the machine, nor the first impulse which set in motion, nor the plan and design on which it moves, are accounted for by its work.¹ Evolution is not a power in itself, but an attempt to express the method in which a power acts. And it must not be allowed either to hinder our recognition of the Power, nor absolutely to limit the action which the Power may pursue.

On this principle a rational man should proceed to his study of the history of Theology; for it is a principle strictly in harmony with that which holds good in his own mental life, where he finds a progress and a connexion, where thoughts evolve, where opinions change, so that when he says that his mind changes, the expression is true almost in its literal sense. Partly through processes of reason of which he is conscious, and which he can restate to himself, partly also through unconscious processes which take place in the progress of time, things come to appear to him in a different way from that in which he saw them before. But while this can be truly styled Evolution, he is never able to divorce it from the action of his will, or divest it of praise and blame, terms wholly inapplicable to Natural Evolution, or to exclude it from the reach of spiritual powers behind the will, and working upon it and through it.

The same which is true in man's own life must be true in the lives of other men, individually and in the aggregate. It is recognized by every intelligent student of history that there is a progress in the thoughts and opinions of mankind. And in Church history especially this progress, under the title of doctrinal development, has exercised the minds of many well-

¹ 'Mais d'autre part tout développement suppose un germe primitif, qui se déploie, grandit, s'enrichit de formes . . . mais il ne faut pas considérer le germe promoteur de ce développement végétal comme anéanti par le fait même de germination' (Réville, *Prolégomènes*, p. 93). M. Réville proceeds to enquire in what this primitive germ consists, and finds it in the sentiment of religion. But see some excellent strictures upon this view by De Pressensé, *Les Origines*, p. 458 sq.

known theologians, and been exaggerated by some. We almost seem to see Petavius, Möhler, and Newman, in their treatment of New Testament religion, stretching out their hands to Professor Huxley with his free views of pre-Christian Evolution.

The general belief, however, of Christians has been that there is a great distinction between the evolution that takes place in the ordinary course of the Church's history and that which is made under the impulse of a revelation. In the one case the doctrine, though it be changed in form from that out of which it was evolved, yet claims our assent only upon condition of tracing its necessary connexion with the revealed truth. The progress of the general Christian thought, expressed through the Church, may well claim our assent to new forms of old truths; *but not to new truths*. These can only be introduced by the act of that Divine Will which is as free in its own sphere as that of man is in his.

And yet, though there is not identity of the process by which truth is maintained in the Church with that by which it is revealed, there may be a very close connexion. Truth is not maintained in the Church, nor in the soul of any human being, without the active exertion of that Divine energy which at first revealed it. And just as in the physical world the maintenance of the forms of life which have been evolved displays the same energies from which new species somehow proceed, so it is in spiritual progress. There is an undoubted connexion between the methods by which truth works in the mind of the Church, constantly growing like the grain of mustard seed, and spreading like the leaven, and that by which new species of truth, as they may be called, are introduced. The one process prepares for the other. And when the new truth has been revealed, the connexions with the old are not erased, but still exist, like the connexion of human structure with the lower forms of animal life. So that the new is not wholly new, nor the old obsolete.

One attentive glance at the structure of the Bible revelation shows that this view is correct. It is plain on the surface that the truths of the Gospel were not revealed from the first, but long ages passed, and many steps in spiritual progress were taken, before the end was reached which was in its turn to be the beginning of a new progress. The rule of the world's government requires this procedure in spiritual evolution as in material; in the moral sphere, which is the most important scene of revelation, as in the intellectual. Our Lord, in a whole series of moral precepts, contrasts His own revelations with those of the law. It was said by them of old time thus

and thus—but thus and thus I say unto you.¹ And the moral imperfection in the old teaching is traced and ascribed to the imperfect development of the moral nature with which the old teachers had to deal. 'Because of the hardness of your hearts Moses wrote unto you this precept.'² In which saying it must be attentively noticed that the Lord does not represent Moses (or God, whose messenger Moses was) as leaving untouched a part of human nature which could not at the time be reformed, or as making no revelation where he could not make a perfect one. He represents Moses as making an imperfect revelation because of the imperfect nature of the beings who were to receive it. In like manner S. Paul constantly uses language about the law which assigns it to a former stage of spiritual evolution and regards it, though relatively good, yet as imperfect and even tainted with falsehood when compared with a higher truth.³ The law made nothing perfect; the law was a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ. It is not merely that the minds before which the Old Testament was set were unable to understand it and failed to draw from it the perfect teaching which we with better helps are able to discern. Perfect teaching was not in it; its teaching was imperfect. We read it as given to men in an earlier stage of development; in that point of view we recognize and adore the manifest tokens of Divine revelation which it displays. But to adapt it to ourselves we have to add something to it and take something from it; to add to it that which we have learnt⁴ from higher revelations, and to take from it that which bears traces of the hardness of heart and dulness of mind of its first recipients.

If we discern and acknowledge a progress in revelation we must not refuse the admissions to which it binds us. We must not maintain in detail a perfection in the Bible which we have renounced in general. We must not imagine that it will suffice to give up the scientific ideas of the Bible to the wolves, while insisting that in moral and spiritual things it is from first to last without a flaw, and in no way reflects, in the earlier stages, the defective conceptions of the age. We must not suppose that we can claim for it the negative perfection of teaching nothing wrong, while we cannot assert for it the positive merit of teaching everything right. It will not be found that such half-measures give any real help to the mind. They do not enable us to discern in the Bible an exact transcript of the Divine mind without mixture of earthly imperfection.

¹ S. Matt. v. 21-48.² S. Mark, x. 5.³ Rom. iii. 19-31. Gal. ii. 11; iv. 8.⁴ See Heb. chs. ix. and x.

And after all, when you have once conceded this, the amount of the admixture of imperfection is but a question of degree.

For these reasons there are some so-called difficulties of the Bible in which we can find—we do not say no difficulty, but—nothing beyond the original and necessary difficulties of a revelation by progress. Some persons very strangely seem to find a difficulty in the supposition that anybody mentioned in the Bible as good should not be perfect, at least in respect of all those actions of his life which are not expressly condemned. This requires only to be mentioned to show how unreasonable it is, but a more rational cause of stumbling seems to arise when something or other which in some respects staggers our notions of right and wrong receives approval in the Bible; as in the often canvassed case of Jael, or in the temptation of Abraham to offer up his son, of which Professor Huxley makes so much. What can we honestly say of such things except that *the Old Testament is not the New*?¹ We can discern in such acts and words, not perfection, but a fitness to hold a place in a divinely-guided progress. They are part of a history in which good gradually emerges from surrounding evil, and it should be enough for us if we can plainly discern in them the struggling but divinely-fostered growth of the germ of truth and righteousness.

We cannot forget these principles of the Bible revelation when we come to consider the early part of the book of Genesis. When once it has been conceded that the whole Old Testament bears marks of having been produced for people incapable of receiving the whole truth, and when once we have been brought to admit that because of their condition that was written for them which would not have been written for better educated spirits, there does not seem to be any great use in haggling about the degrees of imperfection. It might be an interesting circumstance, we allow, if it should prove possible to trace a coincidence between the Genesis narrative and the discoveries of science. But there can be no real principle involved in it. All that we could possibly find is some dim shadow of scientific principle in an account which is confessedly incapable of conveying a scientifically accurate idea. But then it will be said if you allow every trace of literal truth to vanish, where is the revelation? and is Professor Huxley right when he pronounces that the Bible account of creation is simply a myth?

¹ Those who have read—and what Churchman has not read?—Dr. Mozley's *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages*, and especially the Lectures on the Sacrifice of Isaac, and on Jael, respectively, will be able to fill up with greater detail the line of argument which we have here been compelled to compress into one or two paragraphs.

We reply that the clear statements of the unity of God, of the absolute supremacy which He exercises in creation and moral government, and of man's peculiar relations to God, set a clear distinction between Genesis and all other extant accounts of the Creation. There are two distinct methods in which the origin of man and of things might be regarded. First there is its scientific history; and this may be treated as we see it treated every day without ever coming near the question of the first Cause of the existence of the world, without ever touching the subject of the moral intention with which things were caused, or of any consequent moral duty which rests on conscious beings. And this scientific history of man's origin we do not find in Genesis. We renounce the claim of Genesis to it once for all, and we count it far better to disclaim it altogether than to grasp after a few shreds of it when we cannot have it complete. But there remains the second method of regarding the origin of things—namely, that which thinks of them in reference to their Author and purpose, and the application which that purpose has to the guidance of man's will. In this respect the account in Genesis is supremely instructive. Nothing has been propounded in any religion so well adapted to be the foundation of morals and religion, and its excellence in this respect comes out the better when we contrast it with those narratives which bear the closest impress of a historic connexion with it.¹

When we ask from whence is derived the confessedly unscientific form and unhistorical detail of this Bible story, it does not seem to be of overwhelming importance what answer we return. Whether we suppose it to have been framed by human traditions and methods of conception, or to have been revealed as it stands in condescension to the condition of the human mind at the time, it bears equally in either case the stamp of human and imperfect ways of thought. But however the ground was prepared, it was God, and none but He, who sowed in it that heavenly seed which, under His never-ceasing care, was to grow and spread in human nature. We hold, therefore, that Professor Drummond is perfectly

¹ See an excellent analysis of the Bible account of creation, and a comparison of it with the closely related Chaldean Genesis, in the valuable little work of a former editor of this *Review*: 'The Chaldean account makes matter pre-existent; it knows nothing of one God, but only of many gods, and it produces them and all things by a sort of evolution from primitive Chaos. The Genesis account is a kind of *Te Deum*, a creed in which the one true God is celebrated as the author of all things. . . . The key to the Genesis account is moral and theological, not scientific.'—*Septuagesima Lectures*, by Canon Ashwell, pp. 33-5.

right in declaring that the point is missed when the divine origin of the narrative in Genesis is made to turn upon the scientific correctness, or even the shadow of scientific correctness, in it. No one can properly deal with it effectively who does not set first its religious character; yet this is what Professor Huxley does not even allude to. A story which tells that God is One, and that man is related to God and bound to serve Him, is to this learned person as mere a myth as if it embodied the most degraded religion and the most earthly morality. It is mythical for him if only it does not state the succession of living creatures on the earth in the order which science confirms.¹

But before we part from the Bible account of Creation we must say a word of *Nature and the Bible*, the learned work of Dr. F. H. Reusch, Roman Catholic professor of Theology at Bonn. It is a repertory of knowledge upon its subject. The writer is a perfectly orthodox member of his communion, and claims no such liberty as Dr. Mivart has of late been demanding; but his spirit is liberal, and we constantly find him conceding a freedom of explanation to others which he does not exercise for himself.² Yet we cannot profess to have gathered from his

¹ We can refer upon this point to M. Réville, in whose behalf Professor Huxley commenced the present controversy: 'Peu importe à ce point de vue que cette aurore du sentiment religieux dans l'âme humaine ait été associée à des notions naïves et grossières du monde et de l'objet de croyance. Le point de départ est donné et le voyage se fera. Au fond il revient absolument au même de dire: Dieu s'est révélé en principe à l'homme lorsque celui-ci eut atteint un certain point de son développement psychique, ou de dire: l'homme était constitué de telle sorte qu'arrivé à un certain point de son développement psychique il devait être sensible à la réalité de l'esprit divin. En ce sens, qui laisse une entière liberté à l'histoire, nous pourrions accepter aussi l'idée d'une révélation primitive' (*Prolégomènes de l'Histoire des Religions*, p. 50). Yes, these two things are the same, provided one really believes in a God to whom the constitution of human nature is due. But if we do believe in such a Being, and in His primitive revelation to man, we do not quite understand how history is left perfectly free; for God and a primitive revelation are very important facts conditioning history.

² Thus Dr. Reusch himself (in common, he says, with several modern Roman Catholic savants) maintains the universality of the Flood as regards the human race, but not as regards the surface of the earth. But he gives the names of a considerable number of Catholic authorities who hold that the Flood did not even destroy all mankind, and quotes approvingly the Jesuit Bellynck as saying: 'We should not like to censure those who believe that this hypothesis may one day become valid' (vol. i. p. 415 and note). As to the long lives of the patriarchs recorded in Genesis, Dr. Reusch writes: 'It is necessary to consider whether we have divine authority for believing that the patriarchs attained this great age because it is so stated in Genesis. I think not.' . . . 'We must remember that the Holy Scriptures are revered in the Catholic Church

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work how far he means to defend, and how far to surrender, the scientific correctness of the Mosaic account; how far he considers exactness in such matters to be implied in inspiration, and how far not. The Church, he says, requires us to accept the Scriptures as 'the word of God in a more or less strict sense.' And the curious indefiniteness of the phrase we have italicized follows us through the book. He quotes S. Jerome as declaring that 'many things are expressed in Scripture according to the opinion of the times in which they were written, and not according to the truth;' and S. Thomas as 'observing repeatedly, and especially when explaining the history of Creation, that the Scriptures adapt themselves to the reader's power of comprehension.'¹ But this does not show that either S. Thomas or S. Jerome, if made aware of the present condition of scientific knowledge, would have said that 'for scientific exposition the separate statements of Genesis must be translated from the language of intuition to that of understanding.'² If they are only the opinion of the times in which they were written, no translation will adapt them to scientific exposition at all. We are more in agreement with Dr. Reusch when he says that 'we must distinguish carefully between the great religious truths which it is the direct object of the Biblical revelation to impart to us, and the form given to those truths.' The former, he remarks, are expressed clearly and unequivocally; no impartial person can read the first chapter of Genesis without seeing that in it God is represented as the Creator of all things, man as the centre of the earthly Creation, and the Sabbath as the day to be kept holy in honour of the Creator of the world. Anyone may learn these things from this chapter; but this is all which anyone is intended to learn, for this alone is of religious importance.

as a record of revelation, and not as a historical record . . . from a religious point of view, it is quite immaterial whether Shem lived 700 years or 500. We may therefore, I think, assert without prejudice to the true doctrine of inspiration, that the author of Genesis has in the chapters in question correctly recorded what he found in tradition concerning the ancestors of his people; but that it need not be assumed that this tradition is strictly historical' (*Nature and the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 250). These are principles of very wide application indeed, the more so because if the Roman Catholic Church does not reverence Holy Scripture as a historical record, it does not appear why a Roman Catholic should even be bound to believe that the tradition of the Israelites is here correctly recorded. The English translation of Dr. Reusch is made from his fourth German edition. We happen to possess the third (Freiburg, 1870), and it is curious to notice that the last-quoted passage (which does not agree very well with its present context) is not found in it.

¹ *Nature and the Bible*, i. 364.

² *Id.* vol. i. p. 37.

'The rest, the form and development of these truths, is not of religious importance, and if only these facts are borne in mind, the construction of each detail is quite unimportant to religion, and of only scientific interest.'¹ We fear, however, that if religion does not find an interest in these details, science will hardly do so. Science cannot be expected to busy itself about a story for which scientific accuracy is so deliberately renounced. We must limit ourselves on the whole to saying that the work of Dr. Reusch contains a great deal of interesting information, but does not enable us to grasp a guiding principle; and we return to the general question of the theological Evolution which Professor Huxley raises.

The Professor nowhere defines his conception either of Theology or of Evolution; and such a definition would have been very acceptable, seeing that both words are capable of very different senses. But the nature of his arguments imparts a clear general notion of the nature of the conclusion to which he conceives them to lead. They consist of a considerable number of cases in which religion as described in the Old Testament, may be connected with forms found existing in savage countries. We are not about to deny the connexion. In some cases it might be traversed, but in most of the instances which Professor Huxley adduces it is undeniable, and some of them touch not merely the religion *recorded* in the Bible, but the religion *taught*. But we must note what this proves. To show by this method that religion is naturally evolved it must be shown, in the first place, that the savage rites and beliefs in question have in them no element of the supernatural; it must be proved that they not only derive their form, but also their whole substance, their origin, and the reason of their continued practice, from such purely natural sources as dreams and earthly fears and imaginations. But it has been a general belief that underneath these superstitious forms a more spiritual element existed, bearing testimony not only to the universal want of religion among men, but in some degree to its universal supply.² Now, if the superstitions of

¹ *Nature and the Bible*, i. 101.

² 'Le fait seul d'adorer implique la foi au surnaturel, à l'extraordinaire; car le sauvage n'adore pas tout être, il n'adore pas toujours. Il sent donc qu'il y a quelque chose qui le dépasse. . . . Ce quelque chose de supérieur, de transcendant, il le trouve déjà en lui-même, dans cet esprit de vie qui l'anime et qui se distingue de son corps. . . . Cette distinction qui est à la base de l'animisme repose sur une intuition sublime, quelque étrange que soit sa forme légendaire: bien loin de se réduire à un vulgaire spiritisme elle porte en elle un pressentiment de spiritualisme' (*Les Origines*, p. 489).

the lowest races carry with them amidst all their earthly associations some sense of connexion with the supernatural, and if the same be true in a far more striking form still of the better class of heathen religions, such as that of ancient Egypt, then it is plain that to prove the connexion between Israelite religion and these forms of faith is not to disprove its connexion with the supernatural, nor to divest its evolution of the character of a divinely-guided process in which revelation has a share.

In regarding heathen religions as the result of processes purely natural, Professor Huxley disregards not merely a principle of Theology but a principle of agnosticism itself. It is a first principle of Mr. Herbert Spencer's philosophy that religion derives its character and maintains its place among men by reason of man's consciousness of the unknowable. Nay, Mr. Huxley himself supposes:—

'That so long as the human mind exists it will not escape its deep-seated instinct to personify its intellectual conceptions. The science of the present day is as full of this particular form of intellectual shadow-worship as is the nescience of ignorant ages. The difference is that the philosopher who is worthy of the name knows that his personified hypotheses, such as law and force and ether and the like, are merely useful symbols, while the ignorant and the careless take them for adequate expressions of reality. So it may be that the majority of mankind may find the practice of morality made easier by the use of theological symbols.'

In the latter words we have a permanent moral need of religion recognized of which no hint has been given in the description of it which the preceding pages give, yet which is of immeasurably greater importance than the externals to which so much space is devoted. But more, Professor Huxley seems to us to give in the preceding sentences as ample a warrant to Theology as we could ourselves desire. For if any philosopher uses the terms law, force, and ether, without believing that they express reality, he does not thereby prove but rather destroys his title to the name. These terms are symbols, but if they are symbols they must symbolize something, and if they are useful symbols, that something must be no invention or imagination of the mind, but a reality. They are inadequate, because of the inadequacy of the human intellect, but to the intellects which use them they express realities which no future discovery can destroy, however it may enlarge them. We should be perfectly content with liberty to use our terms of Theology in the same way.¹ If the words God, Per-

¹ Dr. Maudsley says (*Natural Causes and Supernatural Seemings*, p. 43): 'The inhabitant of a land puts a being of like character and mind
VOL. XXII.—NO. XLIV.

son, and Revelation are allowed to denote realities as true in their way as law, force, and ether, we are ready on our part to declare that they are inadequate, perhaps even in a greater degree than these, to express the 'things in themselves.'

And in truth the very same renunciation has been persistently made in all religions. We believe that in every faith of which any remains exist in the world the mystery of the Creator and Ruler, more or less dimly perceived, but never felt to be adequately explained, has formed an essential element of its worship. It seems to us, then, on Professor Huxley's own principles, but a poor treatment even of the lowest religion, to fix attention on its ceremonies and its earthly connexions, its dreams and its ancestor worship, without seeing in it also an expression of that deep-seated instinct to personify its intellectual and moral conceptions, which, as he admits, must work as long as the human mind exists. But the theologian, to whom God is as real as force and ether, will go further. The Unknowable, which to Professor Huxley and Mr. Spencer is the passive subject of human guessing, seems to him neither unknown nor inactive. He regards the notion of a Something known to exist, yet unknowable—known to be at the root of all action and all Evolution, yet never to count for anything in impressing a character upon Evolution—as simply a contradiction. Therefore to him that element of religion which consists in the mysterious sense of the supernatural is not only the record of human struggles but also of divine action. He discerns this divine action in the progressive improvement of religion. The mysterious part of nature and of human life is not to him an element of no account in the explanation even of heathen faiths.

When we reach the point at which the religion of the Bible takes a form which manifestly separates it from heathen faith, we have a right to be more watchful still, that every

to himself in nature, only eternal in duration and infinite in power, in order to satisfy the mental yearning for a source, in terms of his own thought, of the infinite energies and operations which it is impossible in the end he, a finite creature, should ever apprehend otherwise than in finite conceptions, or express otherwise than in finite terms of himself—impossible, therefore, he should apprehend or express at all.' The attentive reader of this involved utterance will note, on the one hand, that the prophets never cease to denounce those who satisfy their mental yearnings with beings of like character with themselves; while, on the other hand, the very words which Dr. Maudsley uses suffice to prove that anthropomorphism may be avoided without rushing into agnosticism. For to declare that man cannot apprehend or express at all that which in the same breath the writer himself expresses in the terms 'infinite energies and operations,' is a bull which was never exceeded by any Irish M.P.

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element of the product be truly recognized and accounted for. As the argument proceeds, and Professor Huxley comes from treating the connexion of Jewish religion in early times with that of the South Sea Islands to the sublime theology and morality of the Prophets, we should have thought that his care would be greater, and his proofs of Natural Evolution more numerous and convincing. Quite the contrary is the case. The whole of his first article and more than three-fourths of the second are devoted to showing that the proceedings of the witch of Endor, the early methods of divination, the ephod, and such-like matters, have their connexions with heathenism; and well-nigh everything that Professor Huxley so far says might be granted by the Christian theologian without difficulty. Theologians hold that their Theology was evolved under Divine influence out of an imperfect religion; and what the amount of the imperfection may have been, and what the particular sources from which it came, are matters of no essential moment so long as the divine character of the final product is not disproved. But, instead of any such disproof, the reader finds that, at a point less than five pages from the end of his essay, Professor Huxley passes away from all his scientific proofs of the natural origin of Judaism, and its resemblances to heathenism, in the following words:—

‘All the more remarkable, therefore, is the extraordinary change which is to be noted in the eighth century B.C. The student who is familiar with the theology implied or expressed in the books of Judges, Samuel, and the First Book of Kings finds himself in a new world of thought, in the full tide of a great reformation, when he reads Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah.’

The contrast between the religion of the prophets and that which preceded is absolutely stated as if it was a confirmation of the theory of Natural Evolution, instead of being such a break in continuity as should have compelled the writer to take up his whole work of proof anew.¹ The very

¹ Well may M. de Pressensé exclaim: ‘C’est de cette façon que s’expliquerait la plus grande puissance morale qui soit apparue dans l’histoire! Un rêve pris au sérieux, un conte de revenant, une lâche terreur, c’est tout! Dévouements sublimes, martyrs allant au cirque ou au bûcher le sourire sur les lèvres, trésors de charité répandus aux pieds de l’humanité souffrante, tourment sacré de l’infini, pensées profondes des Augustin et des Pascal, saintes et brûlantes extases de l’âme déployant son aile au-dessus de tout ce qui passe, aspiration vers l’idéal, douleur poignante du mal commis, pleurs qui ne peuvent tarir, soif de pardon et de justice, il a suffi, pour vous produire, du rêve insensé d’un sauvage alourdi par un festin de chasse, et ce que l’histoire humaine a de plus émouvant, de plus

point in the investigation where the evidence should have been most fully marshalled and most closely weighed, is the very point where evidence ceases to be adduced at all. It would really seem to us as if the historian of theological evolution, when he found himself face to face with the birth of that which can really be called Theology, perceived that he had undertaken an impossible task, and determined to retreat from the field. Certainly the few hurried pages which remain denote rather a writer huddling up his subject in order to be done with it, than a scientific man offering evidence upon the most critical point of an important question. To be sure the professor retires fighting. We have, as a matter of course, in the last pages as in the earlier, an admirable style, a great display of information, and a self-confidence the most absolute. But these qualities do not prove truth; they have been often displayed even by theologians. And argument or evidence we have none—nothing but assertion and assumption.

The Captivity, it seems, 'made the fortune of the ideas which it was the privilege of the prophets to launch on an endless career'; endless that is, we suppose, until—as Professor Huxley in his turn prophesies—'the spread of true scientific culture' shall bring it to an end.

'The puritanism of a vigorous minority rooted out polytheism from all its hiding-places, created the first consistent, remorseless, naked monotheism which, so far as history records, appeared in the world, and inseparably united this with an ethical code, which, for its purity and for its efficiency as a bond of social life, was, and is, unsurpassed.'

But from what source in Evolution the prophets derived their new Theology, or the puritan minority their vigour, we are not informed; a disappointment to us after all the scientific evidence we were offered upon the subject of the ephod and the teraphim. The first consistent monotheism the world ever saw is, it seems, something which can be 'created' by a vigorous minority; hardly a convincing proof, one would think, of theological evolution. In default of all evidence to the contrary, we are disposed to fall back upon the account which the prophets themselves give of the source of their thoughts—namely, that it was supernatural.¹ The workers of

grandiose, est sorti de cette vapeur épaisse montant d'un cerveau malade ! La disproportion entre le fait à expliquer et l'explication saute aux yeux.' (*Les Origines*, p. 473).

¹ For the mutual relations of Religion and Revelation in the Old Testament see Ewald, *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, vol. i. p. 66 sqq. *Wechselwirkung von Gottesfurcht und Offenbarung*.

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One page suffices to carry us from the age of the prophets to the dawn of Christianity, and Philo is the sole personage in the story. He again, it seems, laid the foundation of another new Theology by the union of agnostic speculations, which anticipated those of Herbert Spencer and Mansel, with a Logos-doctrine (borrowed from Plato and the Stoics), which helps to make the unknowable known. Upon this portion of Professor Huxley's treatise we would remark, first, that on the supposition of Philo's importance in founding a new Theology, being all that is supposed, it is quite unscientific to assume without proof that Philo's thinking, yes, or that of Plato or of Zeno, does not represent essential truth in the relations of man to God; the necessary way in which man must think God. We feel no difficulty whatever in supposing that God should have used these great pre-Christian thinkers in the evolution which prepared the way of the new Theology of the Gospel.¹ But secondly we must pronounce it quite absurd that a scientific account of the evolution of religious thought should offer Philo as the germ of Christian Theology. Put his influence at the very highest that any sane author has ever claimed and there remains still by far the largest part of Christian Theology unaccounted for. It came from a holier source: the Life of Jesus Christ.

But the question of the real bearing upon Theology of the influence exerted by the teaching of Philo's contemporary, Jesus of Nazareth, is one upon which it is not germane to Professor Huxley's 'present purpose to enter.' We cannot, indeed, greatly regret it; we do not desire to see that theme treated as this author would have treated it. But still, in refusing to enter on it, he refuses to enter on the most essential part of his subject. Theology, as we all know Theology, is Christian, and the professor has undertaken to prove its natural evolution. Does he then think that the Teaching of Jesus of Nazareth has had no part in the evolution of Christian

¹ 'Nothing forbids us to believe that the speculations of Philo may have been known to S. John. We have, in fact, a connecting link in the Alexandrian Jew Apollos, who taught in Ephesus. It would be quite in the spirit in which Paul dealt with the Grecian philosophers at Athens if John, when not professing to record the words of Jesus, but speaking in his own person, presented Christianity to those whose training had been Alexandrian by acknowledging and accepting all that was true in the Philonian speculations about the Divine Logos, but went on to tell what Philo had not dreamt of—that the Word became flesh and dwelt among us.'—Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 88.

theology, that he should pronounce it not germane to his purpose to show that Teaching to be naturally evolved, and the effect which it produced upon the Church's thought to be equally natural.

After this, it is hardly worth while to follow the course of the writer. It carries him in two or three bounds through the patristic and mediæval periods to the present. If Professor Huxley had given to the cray-fish the careless treatment which he has given to Christianity, his monograph upon that interesting creature would have been pronounced scarcely to touch the surface of its shell.

And what is the conclusion? It is Mr. Huxley's 'firm conviction that with the spread of true scientific culture, whatever may be the medium—historical, philological, philosophical, or physical—through which that culture is conveyed, and with its necessary concomitant, a constant elevation of the standard of veracity, the end of the evolution of theology will be like its beginning—it will cease to have any relation to ethics.'¹ The conviction of the existence of One who will make it best in the end to have been good, has been believed by many as true experts in ethics as Professor Huxley is in physiology, to be necessary to the advance of virtue in the world.² No one acquainted with the state of ethical controversy would say that the reverse has ever been proved. But Professor Huxley not only renounces such a belief with a light heart, but is apparently quite sure that morals are better without it. The moral ideal which Christianity offers, the exquisite and spiritual forms of virtue which many an unbeliever has recognized as the fruit of religion, are not thought by this writer worthy of mention: scientific culture will supply them, or, if not them, something better. The separation of ethics from Theology which existed in the minds of the Tonga islanders before the missionaries corrupted them, is the goal of Evolution which we all are to wish for without doubt or repining! It is but a sad conviction for any human being to hold that the entire course of human thought, and the feelings which have moved men most, have been futile and baseless. But for an evolutionist it would seem an almost impossible conclusion that the proper end of a long course of progress of the

¹ Precisely similar is the aspiration of Dr. Maudsley.—*Natural Causes*, &c., p. 144.

² 'Je ne pense pas, si du moins on s'entend bien sur les mots, que la morale puisse, sans en beaucoup souffrir, se passer de tout principe religieux: mais en tout cas si la morale peut se passer de la religion, on peut bien affirmer que la religion ne peut plus se passer de la morale.'—Réville, *Prolég.* p. 120.

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highest faculties of the highest creature on earth is that he should return to the point from whence he set out!

But this, it seems, is science. This is the way of thinking and of searching and of arguing which assumes the airs of a truthfulness and a moral earnestness unknown to theologians. To us it seems more full of assumptions, more inconsequential in argument, and more careless in its induction, than anything which the most benighted of religionists ever wrote on a scientific question. And few treatises of Christian evidence have ever brought home to us such a certainty that our Faith is indeed a Revelation from God, and not the product of nature or the work of man, as this essay, which the great name of the author would seem to warrant as the best proof that can be given of its Natural Evolution.

ART. II.—HOME MISSION-WORK IN LARGE TOWNS.

1. *The Masses : how shall we reach them? Some Hindrances in the Way set forth from the Standpoint of the People, with Comments and Suggestions.* By AN OLD LAY-HELPER. (London, 1886.)
2. *Stories and Episodes of Home Mission Work.* With a Preface by His Grace the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. (London.)
3. *The London Diocesan Magazine.* Vol. I. No. I. May. (London, 1886.)

THE greatest problem before our Church to-day is how to evangelize the crowded centres of population. Large towns have arisen within a few years, as fresh industries have grown up or old ones increased. The picturesque country village, with its ivy-clad church, its peaceful meadows and sheepfolds, its scanty population of farmers and their men, who found a personal friend, as well as a guide, in many a generation of their rectors, has often become, in a single lifetime, the scene of busy trade or of some flourishing manufacture. Instead of the sheep-bell is heard the whirr of machinery, the erewhile trout-stream runs black with offensive refuse, the scattered cottages have given place to close-built streets, and immigrant

thousands of persons dwell where corn waved, or cattle grazed. In many cases the change came unforeseen. In still more cases it was unprovided for by the Church. The parochial system, so valuable for diffusing her energies through the length and breadth of the land, proved inadequate where sudden concentration was required. Men of leisure were sighing for work in one parish, ample funds were practically unused, while at no great distance an overweighted clergyman was perhaps toiling in the evening of his days, single-handed, with a growing population which all his earlier experience had even unfitted him to deal with. The remedy for this failure of the parochial system, if failure it may be called, not to effect what it was never intended to effect, has been found in some degree, and must be found in a still greater degree, in the recognition of the Diocese as the unit of Church work. There is among us too great a tendency to congregationalism in our towns; and too often, both in town and country, the *parish*, especially if vigorously worked and in the midst of others less ably administered, has a tendency to a somewhat narrow isolation. Its own needs are not only foremost, but almost exclusive. We are glad to think that this tendency has been counteracted by diocesan societies, by the division of large dioceses, by the increased efforts of the bishops, by the appointment of suffragans, and, we hope that at no distant day we may be able to add, by a considerable increase in the numbers of our mission clergy. But our bishops are in the House of Lords, and a generation ago most of them may have been up in the balloon we have been told of as pertaining to that chamber. At any rate the want of fresh methods was felt, and a vast change had taken place in the circumstances of half the population of England before steps were taken to meet the new conditions of Church work.

Meanwhile a dense *pack* of human beings was being formed for whom no spiritual provision was made. The country migrated to the towns. Too often, new settlers were unsought by the Church. Too often, they did not seek her ministrations. Then, as now, old and good habits were broken by the wrench of a new and strange life. 'Well, sir,' said a respectable mechanic to a clergyman, in reply to an invitation to church, 'well, sir, I was always church, and used to go regular when I was in the country, but since we came to London sixteen years ago, I don't think either me or the missis has been to church *once*. Howsomever, I'll come.' And the man never failed to come for years, though his wife could never be induced to attend, except for the

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baptism of seven out of their eight children. She seemed to think she had acquired a prescriptive right to dispense with Church ministrations by the lapse of so many years. Now, such a case belongs (we regret to say it), not to the exceptions, but to the rule. The feeble spiritual life that required for its maintenance the traditional influences and the force of early habits, as well as easily accessible Church privileges, becomes almost stifled by the fresh excitements of town life, by the irreligious tone of the new companionship, by the hurry and turmoil and whirl in which the greater activity of thought and energy of the city, as compared with the country, seems to place the new comer. So he drifts off into a godless, if not a wicked, life, and, if ever he is recalled from it, is perhaps only so far recovered as to become the votary of some one of the many forms of imperfect Christianity which find recruits most readily where the Church is failing to do her proper work. Such men ought never to have been lost. The problem is how to regain them.

But in the obscurity of a large and crowded town, there is a population still more difficult to deal with. Here abound poverty, filth, and the degradation that follows on the loss of self-respect. The common decencies of life have disappeared. The moral atmosphere is charged with vice. Force and fraud are considered respectable, and the hideous misery of the picture is only relieved by touches of kindness that still tell of 'original righteousness.'¹ In such a region will be found petty thieves and professional beggars, the tradesman broken down by vice, the brutally ignorant whose language consists but of a few hundred words, of which a large percentage are unutterably vile. Here will be met the man of education of prostituted talent and infamous character, whose poem on 'Innocence,' frequently produced from tattered pocket, is a grim though unintended satire on the writer and his life. Here, in some garret of a dirty court, have been found children of twelve or thirteen years of age, who have set up (may we venture to say?) housekeeping for themselves. Here in the afternoon are lounging about the doors of low lodging-houses 'cadgers' who hang about the theatres to pick up, honestly or otherwise, a few pence, or who shut the doors of

¹ The writer once came upon one of the greatest blackguards of his acquaintance, shivering without his coat on a bitterly cold day, and found he had put it over his sister's illegitimate children, who were sleeping on a dirty sack of shavings in a corner of the den. All honour to thee, Cornelius Daly, in whichever of Her Majesty's prisons thou dost sojourn now.

cabs, and try by importunity to exact a payment. Here foul sights meet the eye on every side, and fouler words assail the ear. The men seem brutalized, the women something worse. In such a seething mass of misery and corruption, what *can* be done by the Church of Christ?

In dealing with this question, we would point out that, while the Church must and will do much, there is also much for society to do. The evil is not merely *spiritual* destitution. It contains elements of physical and social danger. The crowded state of many a nest close to our great thoroughfares is a fertile source of disease. The police reports show the constant and costly system of repression that is necessary to check crime. It is the task of society for its own sake to take measures to remove conditions of life which tend to make fever-dens and guilt-gardens. The poor are crowded into houses once the abodes of the upper and middle classes. These, built for the accommodation of a single household, are let out in single rooms. The house that was ample for one family is now shared by twenty. The air, the light, the water, the closets, the stairs, the passage, the front door, the back yard if there be any,¹ are to be used and wrangled over by many families, afflicted by an enforced communism which is almost as pernicious to the body as to the soul. It is worth while to dwell for a moment upon the consideration of what are the chief causes that tend to debase the very poor of our large towns, and render them, humanly speaking, out of reach of all spiritual influences. What are the causes that render reformation of life and character almost impossible, and the preacher's exhortation to holiness almost a mockery? It is worth while to ask the question, and to answer it if possible, for if we are tying a heavy weight round our brother's neck while we are bidding him swim against the stream, *ours*, and not his alone, is the guilt if he drift away to perdition. Now first of all we would place the terrible *publicity* in which their lives are spent. The denizens of our courts from their very childhood *are never alone*. Solitude, even for an hour, is a luxury almost unknown. Husband, wife, sons, daughters, eat, sleep, and often work in one single room. Through the thin partition may be heard in the neighbouring rooms every detail of the life of similar families. *There is no privacy*. The voice of a stranger on the stairs or in the next room is recognized at

¹ In many crowded parts there is a shanty called the 'back cottage,' to be found in what is called the yard. The writer has often visited a family in a back cottage, built over the privy, and accessible by a ladder, at the foot of which was the refuse heap of a well-filled house.

once. His business is probably canvassed by every family in the house. Every quarrel is aggravated by being carried on publicly. Every action of each inhabitant is known to the rest, or is concealed with difficulty. A peculiar result of this state of things is that a great fear of public opinion prevails, and it is a fear which casteth out love. Men and women feel the tyranny and hate it, but at the same time cringe to it. People are influenced, are held back from what they know to be right, by fear of those whom they detest; but they are too weak to assert their independence. We have known a man steal out more than once from his room to fulfil a promise made that he would attend church on Sunday evening, and to fail, because, after a circuitous route, he has seen a neighbour near the door, and felt he *dared* not be known to enter. Thus the influence of the *world* is, from the conditions of their life, brought to bear upon the poor with appalling force. Nor is this the only cause of irreligion and vice. We are fully assured that much, if not most, of the prevailing drunkenness arises from the want of pure air. Half a dozen human beings sleep at night in a room some twelve feet square, where the herring or the dried haddock has been cooked and eaten for supper, and a pipe or two smoked after it. The air is poisoned by use. The sleepers upon the dirty heaps of rags, euphemistically called beds, wake unrefreshed. Their blood feels the want of oxygen. Their circulation is enfeebled. They are conscious of being 'below par.' Still, the work of the day is before them, and a glass of gin is a ready medicine for the ailment. So the morning 'pick-me-up' becomes an habitual need. The fillip is given to the circulation, and, for a time, the frame is restored to its proper vigour. Drowsiness and ill-temper follow in the afternoon, and the repeated dram helps to make the habitual drunkard. In this way ill-ventilated rooms and closely-packed dwellings minister temptations of the *flesh*. Women especially are the victims, and she who is now an open drunkard, at first learned the pernicious vice by slipping into the public-house for her morning dram. Immediately after six o'clock, when the men are gone to work, the public-houses, in regions such as Drury Lane, may be seen filled with women, who are endeavouring to gain from gin and bitters the energy for their day's work. We will not now dwell upon the horrors of the crowded home, on the inevitable extinction of all feelings of delicacy or even decency. We feel the deepest pity for the sufferers, and the greatest disgust at such a state of things. But we would remind any of our readers who may be working in any of the

lowest neighbourhoods of our great cities, that they will do well to avoid speaking out all that may be in their minds to those who are simply helpless in the matter. Provide, as soon as may be, habitations where decency is possible, and where at least some separation of the sexes may be carried out in the case of adults, but until this is done do not suggest the indelicacy of such a way of living to those who cannot help it. We must remember that there may be true goodness and virtue in the midst of untoward conditions, and that which would be inexpressible torture to the happy daughter of a sheltered English home, may be accepted as a matter of course among the lowest of the poor. Gradually, as the tone of the family improves, the mission priest finds one and another becoming awake to the desirability of a change for the better. The mother will consult him as to her daughter going to service. 'You see, sir, the room is rather small for six of us, and she thinks she would like to go out.' The eldest son will find a lodging elsewhere, and the whole family will have been led to a higher condition, without any period during which their position was attended by a sense of degradation and loss of self-respect. In this, as in other matters, the true friend and wise counsellor will seek to foster the good elements in his brother's character, to strengthen all feelings of self-respect, to show, even to the worst, that they are not outcasts, and to lead them to care for themselves by the certainty that somebody cares for them. Mere reproof, mere repression, may, at some times and in some cases, have its use; but in dealing with the poorest and lowest of our population, let there be in our conduct and words some reflex of that infinite tenderness which *we* know and feel, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, to dwell in the heart of our Father in heaven. Let them feel His love beaming on them through us, and we shall have done much towards reclaiming them. It were the part of a fiend and not of a friend to make them vile in their own eyes. And assuredly there would be danger of doing this if we ventured to put into words our sense of the complex horror and disgust which we feel at the crowded abodes and the want of the decencies of life common among too many of Christ's wandering sheep.

Let society do its part in this matter: let it carry out the Artizans' Dwelling Improvement Act, and the Church will have a mighty burden lifted from her. She will then be free to address herself to her true work of educating men and women and children into the likeness of their Lord. In this work she will be confronted by another obstacle; one, how-

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ever, with which it is distinctly her office to deal. Those who have never been brought personally into contact with the lowest classes of society, can hardly conceive the utter ignorance of all Christian truth in which many thousands of our fellow-countrymen live. Churchmen are sometimes astonished that well-educated and even pious men can live in our midst and remain ignorant of the most elementary principles of Churchmanship,¹ having their minds occupied, in all good faith and honesty, by a marvellous caricature of our views. The same phenomenon meets us in our mission work. There is a painful but grotesque parody of the teachings of the New Testament current among large numbers of not merely the lowest classes, which must be dislodged before any truth can reach the soul. Those who are not aware of this will find much of what they say fitted into a framework of prejudice, already existent in their hearers' thoughts, which entirely distorts its meaning, while the rest of their words are simply neglected by the mind which fastens on what seems to it intelligible. But the ideas of Christianity thus current are in reality the darkness of paganism. It is not long since a clergyman, while visiting in his London parish, met with an instance of this intense ignorance, which we make no apology to our readers for placing before them in all its ugliness. He heard that a Mrs. Ropelly was ill, and went straight to her room. He knew her to be living in concubinage with a drunkard like herself, and to be particularly foul in her language, that she had lost a leg, and usually sold matches in the streets for a living. Entering a dark close room, he found her lying on a heap of filthy rags, from which she greeted him volubly, answering his inquiry as to her health with the information that she 'had had three fits, but should be out o' Monday.' He knew that he must listen to all she had to say before he could gain her attention to his words, and when at last the list of her ailments, which seemed to him dangerous, was completed, the repetition of the words, 'I shall be out o' Monday,' gave him the opening he desired, and he replied, 'I am glad to hear that you are hopeful, but have you thought at all of the other side? Suppose, instead of being out on Monday, you should be worse?' 'Well, sir,' said the woman, 'and if I should be, I'm devilish well prepared to die.' With the thought that there was more truth in the words than the speaker knew of, and also feeling *that* to be no time to take notice of the verbal impropriety, he returned

¹ See an interesting letter in the *Guardian*, December 27, 1877, from one who had been a Dissenting minister.

sadly, 'I should be glad to think you were *well* prepared for death. What makes you think you are?' The answer revealed a fresh abyss of heathenism. 'Why, sir, about eight year ago I was very bad. I was in the hospital, where they took my leg off, and as I lay there, a city missionary, or summat, he come, and he prayed *to* me, and read a chapter over me, and he prepared me for death—yes—deuced well, and that'll do now, sir, of course.' He pointed out to her that preparation for death is preparation for life, and asked if she had been living a better life, resisting temptations to swearing, drunkenness, and the like. The idea was evidently new to her, but she did not think it was 'the Gospel.' This poor woman could read and write, and had attended a Sunday school in her childhood! It is against distortions of Christianity such as this that we have to struggle, and the task will be all the more difficult when, under a fully developed School Board system of 'undenominationalism,' the conceit of knowledge is superadded to the reality of ignorance. For it is perfectly obvious that among the scholars of the Board schools, where, as in London at present, 'religion is taught,' a knowledge of Bible history, of the dimensions of the Tabernacle, of the names of the kings of Israel and Judah, or of the journeys of S. Paul, will be found valueless enough in comparison with 'my duty towards God' and 'my duty towards my neighbour.'

The spread of education must in the next few years tell very strongly in favour of the Church as against Dissent. The more people are taught to think, the more men's minds are cleared from the slavery of prejudice, the more they are able to escape from narrow individualism, the more they learn that the present has its roots in the past, so much the more readily will they recognize the grandeur of the Churchman's position as a member of the august society which Christ founded and the Holy Spirit organized, so much the more keenly will they appreciate the reasonableness and truth of her doctrines and the fulness of her Christian liberty, the more will their hearts glow with her warmth, and the more easily will their characters be moulded by the sweet beauty of her services. No sect of a few days' or a few centuries' standing, with an ideal however excellent, with a founder however venerable, can possibly vie with the Body of Christ. No puritanical baldness of service, no extravagance of extemporaneous effusion, will have power over those who are cultivated enough to feel the calm splendour and intense spirituality of our daily services, of our Litany, of our Eucharistic Office.

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But if the spread of education is likely, in its ultimate outcome, to diminish the numbers and influence of the Dissenting bodies, we cannot indulge in unmixed rejoicing, for we are left face to face with a terrible danger, lest very many should become lost to Christianity altogether, lest the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed become unfamiliar, and the only sanction of morality be the fear of a policeman. In view of this possible evil, it behoves the home missionary, and all who can help on his work, to be up and doing. Why cannot the affiliation of parishes be more thoroughly carried out, and the assistance thus rendered by the richer to the poorer neighbourhood be not confined simply to money grants but supplemented by personal aid?¹ Could not Saturday morning and Sunday afternoon be better employed in imparting thoroughly good instruction to children, who would otherwise be playing about our streets, than in lounging at the club over the newspaper or review? Where there are good teachers and teaching there will be no lack of children. We have known more than a hundred children turned away from a Saturday school² for want of room. We have known upwards of forty children present themselves to an astonished mission curate who had just commenced a mission in a workshop and had been seen to enter it on Sunday afternoon. He had thought of 'hunting up' children against next Sunday, and had no idea of being 'hunted up' himself. Happily he was equal to the occasion, and a short pleasant lesson had its effect in bringing double the number on the following Sunday.

But the mission priest will do well to form as soon as possible his own teachers and staff. This in new ground, where from any cause parochial ministration has long fallen into abeyance, will be the work of several painful years. But in most cases every good Sunday school ought to supply its own staff of teachers, and even to offer abundance of choice. That this is not the rule only shows that Sunday schools are not doing their proper work. In a mission district the band of workers should be the first thought. Even young children who show special aptitude and docility should be kept in training for future work, unknown of course to themselves;

¹ Manchester is, we believe, setting a good example in this respect.

² It seems to us quite certain that the necessary instruction in religious knowledge can only be properly secured by a good use of the Saturday. Why should not a well-arranged system of lessons—Old Testament, New Testament, and Christian Doctrine or Liturgy—be given to Board School children every Saturday morning in all parts of the country?

and personal relations with the clergyman should be carefully maintained. Of course every lesson will be first carefully taught to the teachers, and notes supplied to each one at a meeting held at least every month. To this meeting others may be invited, and thus a sort of Church council will be formed, which will be the centre from which the personal influence of the missionary will radiate. This personal influence is, humanly speaking, the great thing to be cultivated in mission work. How deeply S. Paul felt the tie between himself and his converts every epistle testifies; and the same strong feeling will spring up between the missionary and those whose hearts and lives he has been God's instrument in renewing. Nor is personal friendship a result only of the higher benefit conferred and received; it will be a means of producing it. The cultivation of friendly relations with all—with the infidel scoffer and the earnest and pious Dissenting preacher, with the Jew at the clothes-shop and the Romanist tripe-seller—is part of his daily life. He must win their personal regard if he is to be of any use to them at all. He will never argue for victory. He will be content with gradually leading them to see truth as God's truth. He will fasten upon and develop points of sympathy, and make the most of all the common ground he can find. In this way he will conciliate those who would have opposed him, and will often find hearty co-operation instead of enmity or indifference. In his personal demeanour he must not only be kind and courteous, but he must be invariably and unfailingly *cheerful*. The sick must look upon his visit as the captive in the dungeon regards the sunshine. The care-worn mothers, the swinked toilers, the squalid children on the doorsteps, must all have a pleasant word, and their faces will brighten as he passes. He must carry with him an atmosphere of kindness. He must be always on his guard against giving offence. He must be still more on his guard against malignant accusations. Yet he must be known by his flock as *sans peur et sans reproche*. He must know when to keep away from his people as well as be ready to visit among them. He will be told often enough that he is paid for his work and his exhortations, and he must meet such speeches, and occasionally bitter insults, with imperturbable good temper. He must make up his mind to any number of disappointments, and find his happiness in the work—not seek it in results. All this implies health, vigour, both of mind and body, combined with a restful, quiet temper that minimises 'friction'—the wear and tear of body and mind that mission work involves. It implies also the

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elasticity of youth. Few men are fit for it after forty, for few men after that age retain the freshness that it requires. They cease to be aggressive. They may be fitted by gathered experience and ripened judgment for other, and possibly higher, posts in the battlefield, but they will do well to leave the forlorn hope to younger men, and retire from daily conflict with the Evil One in his chosen dens.

But we have not yet fully sketched our ideal. Our mission priest must be ready of wit and of tongue. He will have no blunted foils used against him at times, and if he be quick and keen in debate there will be use for the talent. Many of us have heard how the eloquent tirade of an infidel lecturer against the atrocious cruelty of the Jewish law in requiring that a hole should be bored through the ear of a slave who refused freedom out of love to his master, was shown to be the fustian it was by the simple question, 'Is there anybody here whose wife has had her ears pierced?' Such readiness is very valuable on certain occasions, but as a rule, sound common sense and a loving heart will carry the mission curate through his controversies, especially if he spend what leisure he may have in company with Bishop Butler and Hooker.¹ Lastly, the ideal mission priest must be a highly-cultured English gentleman. There is abundant room in the ministry of our Church for the man of vigorous mind or deep research, for the able preacher, or the wise administrator, but let him not carry his valuable powers into the mission field, unless he have also the address and bearing, the outward polish, that neither books nor conscious self-direction will impart. There is as much need in S. Giles-in-the-Fields, or the Isle of Dogs, of refined courtesy and gentleman-like tact as in the parishes of S. Peter's, Eaton Square, or S. James's, Paddington.

Imbued as we are with these opinions as to the qualifications of our home missionary, we venture to suggest that an improvement might be made in our diocesan organization. Should not missionary posts be staff appointments? Should they not be made for five years, and be renewable, by no means as a matter of course, for a similar term? No man should be a mission curate or (as he might with advantage be called) an evangelist for more than ten years. The stipends should be augmented so as to remove them altogether out of comparison with those of ordinary curacies. He should receive

¹ We would recommend to all mission clergy the careful study of a too brief paper read at the Stoke Congress, 1875, by Mr. R. L. Hutton. S.P.C.K.

special payment for special work, and take his chance of work and promotion with the rest of his brethren when his time is over. We cannot think there would be any difficulty about funds. To nothing will men give so readily as to work among their poor neighbours. No other claim on their sympathy and liberality is equal to this, and none, we believe, will be more readily recognized. Witness the large sums that are entrusted by Churchmen to the London City Mission, even though they see clearly that its undenominational impartiality is a negation of all Church principles. They support it because they believe that its work is *alive*; that the money they give will go most directly to aggression on the sin, and consequent misery, of those whom the ordinary parochial machinery has not, as they think, been able to embrace in its ministrations. We are not likely to undervalue the building of churches and extension of parish work. We would not for a moment have it thought that we do not approve of the 'working-up' of a mission district into a regular Church parish. But we are quite sure that, in the present state of feeling on other matters, the majority of the middle classes who would heartily support *Church home missions* will give sparingly for *Church extension*. We are not saying that this ought to be the case. We are taking facts as they are. We well remember the disappointment which checked the liberality of a large part of our laity when the Bishop of London's Fund seemed to be devoted rather to building churches in well-to-do suburbs than to carrying the Gospel to the homes of the poorest in London; and we are quite sure that Diocesan home missions might be, as they ought to be, among the most popular and efficient agencies of our Church.

But we return to our consideration of mission posts. The men who hold them should be in immediate subordination either to the chief curate of the parish, or to the bishop only. There should be no relations with an impersonal committee, since such supervision must, we feel, tend to check, we will not say originality, but the elasticity that springs from individual effort and responsibility. A committee, however honest and wise its individual members may be, is, in respect of mission work, as likely to be a hindrance to victory as a council of war on the field of battle. Besides, a committee is sure to be eminently respectable, and respectability is above all things timid, save where timidity were a virtue. The Church of England has had more than enough of it. It has paralyzed the energies and chilled the zeal of some of her noblest sons, and it has driven others into extravagance from

a longing to get out of the ruts. If there were in the Church of England less conventionality, less of the rigidity and frigidity of mere respectability, there would be less of the reaction, less ill-regulated zeal, fewer ill-considered and precipitate steps.

We have dwelt long on the qualifications required in an evangelist, and on the way to obtain him. We have done so, because the character of the work must depend very greatly on the character of the man. But we must glance very slightly at the method to be pursued. It seems almost inevitable, humiliating as it is, that we should in the first place consider the spread of our Lord's Kingdom in its relation to tea. To get people together under promise of tea, and having locked the doors, to preach more or less excitedly to a hungry and hysterical crowd before producing the urns and buns, seems to be a prevalent notion of the work we are discussing. We agree with Miss Octavia Hill, who expresses in one of her papers the gravest doubt whether the Gospel message ever reached any human heart whatever with the aid of a bribe. So far from thinking that free teas, accompanied by revivalistic hymns and a preachment, are either religious or charitable, we have no hesitation in saying that they are one of the greatest hindrances to the cause of true religion, and they degrade their victims by impairing their self-respect. It is well, then, from the first to sever as far as possible the services of the Church from the ministrations of relief. There will, of course, be a weekly offertory for the alms of the communicants. It should be understood that the small sums thus given will be applied to comfort and sustain those who are apparently dying. No other extremity of poverty should be accepted as a claim upon the alms of those who are perhaps really as poor, but a little more thrifty, than their neighbours. An evening collection for church expenses, made at least once a month, will tend to enlist sympathy and identify the people with the church which they will look upon as their own, for have they not helped to pay for that bright fire, for that pretty text, for those lovely primroses, for the washing of that spotless surplice?

Mission work has been attempted in two different ways, which may be classed as revivalistic and educational. The former method relies mainly on earnest preaching. It seeks to attract people by tea, or it may be by the exhibition of a ticket-of-leave man, reformed into a black coat and white neckcloth, of an ex-prize fighter, or a singer of 'native' songs. Sometimes noisy bands parade the streets with laugh and

jest and song, only the song is of words which a reverent person would prefer to sing on his knees. When a congregation is assembled it looks to produce their immediate and instantaneous conversion as the effect of preaching. Which of us dare say that it does not? Who dares say that the smoking flax of slumbering spiritual life, which in the providence of God ten thousand circumstances have been fostering, has never under such circumstances burst into the flame of conscious activity? But we are bound at the same time to express our belief that such cases are extremely rare. We have known many so-called suddenly converted persons, but in the case of each one, we should have had a special objection to leaving him in the company of 'unconsidered trifles.' The fact is that under the revival system religion is apt to be divorced from morality, and religious hysteria, with all its deplorable consequences, or mere penitential feeling, is substituted for the 'repentance whereby they forsake sin.'

In the deeply interesting book before us, a book written by one who is clearly full of sympathy with mission work and knowledge of its many difficulties, we find a useful warning:

'A mission preacher is apt to think that because he has melted his hearers to tears he has likewise melted their hearts. There never was a greater mistake. It is a curious psychological fact, not so well known as it ought to be, that some preachers have the faculty of producing an hysterical feeling in others by the mere sound of their voice. They can play upon the emotional fibres of certain individuals, constitutionally so disposed, as a violinist sweeps across the strings of his instrument. If some such unconscious "medium" happen to be among the audience in the mission hall, and devoid of self-control, as uneducated women of the lower classes generally are, what must necessarily follow? Tears, shrieks, and scenes. The missionary thinks he has touched a conscience when he has only touched a nerve centre.'—*The Masses: how shall we reach them?* page 25.

We have no hesitation mingled with our preference of the *educational* method. Let the mission room, or, as we prefer to call it, the school-church, be in the district, as leaven in the lump, slowly, and at first imperceptibly, but still constantly spreading around it the influences of the Gospel. The formation of habits, the gradual enlightenment of the soul, the struggle against sin formerly indulged, the lesson of rejoicing not in iniquity but of rejoicing in the truth, will take more than to-day and to-morrow. 'In quietness and confidence shall be your strength.' It is not the size of the

congregation so much as the regularity with which its members attend, and the staunchness of their resistance against evil, by which progress must be measured. For this reason we do not think that posters and handbills, or announcements of sermons with titles *ad captandum vulgus*, are of the least use. The cessation of miraculous powers in the Church seems to us to indicate that it is not the will of the Holy Spirit that we should in these days endeavour to propagate the Gospel by means of advertisements. And since we have no excitements provided by our Church, when we have, by these means, gathered a congregation, we shall only disappoint those who have been unwary enough to attend, and they will be less likely to come when after a pastoral visit, or a recovery from sickness, they are invited to a service. If they come on one of these latter occasions, they will come in a frame of mind far more open to the voice of the Holy Spirit than when they come in mere search of amusement, and such a visit to church is very often a turning-point in life.

It follows from this fact that in all good mission work the proportion of communicants to the congregation will, after the first few years, be very large. If there be a weekly celebration, as there certainly ought to be, one-third, or at least one-fourth, of the whole number of attendants may be expected to communicate. For each one of the regular attendants will be intensely and thoroughly in earnest. None will come because others come, few because they have been brought up to do so. They will come for worship and instruction. It will be the privilege of the evangelist to lead the worship in a spirit of holy reverence. Veneration and awe in the Presence of Him who is unseen will indeed be at first an entirely strange feeling to his congregation, but one by which it will be well for them if he is indeed actuated. There will be then no irreverence of tone or manner in the service, and no familiar handling of sacred things in his discourse. He is not there to vulgarize the treasures of the Gospel, but to display and dispense them as steward of God's mysteries. And his example will do more than his words. Hats will be taken off at the doors, the gossip before service will be repressed, the knee will be bent for prayer. Ingenious plots for interrupting the service will become rarer. A sudden shout sent in at the door, or even a handful of mud, may be expected at any time. They will not disturb either the clergyman or his congregation for an instant. But after a time public opinion will be against the bringing in of a bird, a dog, a cat, or (as we have known) a goat, in order that

its sudden liberation in the midst may disturb the congregation. Should such incidents occur, they must be met with kindness, never by the policeman. The rough hobbledehoy who torment him to-day, will be the evangelist's chief supporters and candidates for Confirmation next year. He will catch the chief offender in private, and ask him 'if he thinks he could not stop that kind of thing in future, not let it be done?' Then a little friendly talk about his work, or about the hymns which he probably roared out with enjoyment in spite of his mischievous intentions, will possibly have made a thorough conquest, as far as personal feeling is concerned, of any but a thoroughly bad fellow. And thorough badness is happily rare indeed among the poorest of our population.

A great deal of nonsense and worse than nonsense has been uttered with respect to confession. A few months of energetic mission work would considerably modify the views of some of those who consider the practice as an unmixed evil. We have no hesitation in saying that formally or informally the evangelist will, in proportion as his work is telling upon the spiritual condition of his people, be called upon to hear confessions and to deal with individual souls. The newly awakened conscience, like that of Naaman of old, will often seek relief in a question about some modern worship in a house of Rimmon, and then will often follow the out-pouring of some life-history that must involve practical advice and direction, and this, to be of any use, will necessitate a future confession. With what degree of formality this shall be received, in what form the benefit of Absolution shall be conveyed, our Church has not prescribed. Accordingly we believe that every true-hearted ambassador of God will carefully consider, and perhaps will vary his method with the circumstances of the case. But of this we are quite sure that whether he hears confessions in his church, and pronounces absolution individually to those who are truly repentant, or whether he listens in their own homes to tales of sin and sorrow, which will assuredly be revealed to him, and directs (as in many cases he will prefer to do) his penitent to attend the next celebration of the Eucharist, after earnest prayers for the grace of repentance, and bids him, then meekly kneeling upon his knees, to make inward mention of special sin while joining in the general confession with the congregation, and there and then to take to himself the precatory declaration of pardon and deliverance from all sin, he will find that the part of his work that weighs most heavily on his heart and fills him with the deepest sense of responsibility is neither more nor less than

the absolute inevitableness of this same auricular confession. He does not seek it, he does not teach it. It comes. It is part of his daily work for God. Perhaps they act wisely who surround themselves with adjuncts of formality and publicity in the discharge of a duty which they dare not put aside. But we think that there is also wisdom in the course of those who, in no ill-grounded dislike of methods that are especially Roman, eschew the confessional box, the stated hour, and formalities which might be to different persons and in different circumstances either a help or a hindrance. The evangelist will in the course of his work be confronted by the *thing* as a fact. He will use his own judgment in dealing with it.

In his teaching and work generally the mission priest will have constant reference to first principles. He will follow the example of S. Paul in dealing with the first Christians, and make all his teaching lead up to baptism or refer back to it. He will make much of the primary Sacrament. Even though he should feel that the office with its machinery of vicarious response, and its two-fold exhortation, is somewhat specially cumbersome for the flock over whom God has placed him, he will not relegate it—in the teeth of the rubric—to a dreary corner of the church and a time when there is no other service. He will church the grateful mother before the assembled congregation on Sunday or Saint's day, and at the close of the second lesson will often be called upon to baptize not only the newborn infant, but children of various ages who he has discovered have never been 'done.' 'Only registered, sir, and of course vaccinated.' He will be wise to take the opportunity of having a talk as he registers the baptism with some formality in his vestry; and of giving a tract (for he has written or procured papers suitable to the condition of his people for all such occasions) and an illuminated card, which, duly framed, will hang over the parents' chimney-piece, and which, if the child should die, will be treasured as a precious memorial of the lost one. He will often, moreover, learn at such times that either father or mother has never been baptized, and the 'babes and sucklings' will glorify God by bringing their parents to the font.

Of course, every facility should be given for people to bring their children to baptism both on Sundays and week-days, but it will be useful to administer that sacrament occasionally at the chief mission service. If this is done, not too frequently, the evangelist will find the service in which baptism is included the most popular of any that he can hold. If baptisms and a collection for church expenses take place on the same Sunday evening, we venture to say that the weather must be

very bad that will at all diminish his congregation. Nor will offerings of flowers to deck the font long be wanting, for it will soon be accounted a privilege to be allowed to provide them regularly.

We are not careful to weigh the advantages in mission work of a 'said' or a 'sung' service. In Yorkshire we cannot imagine a well-attended evensong that is not choral. In the south we have been present at services, both plain and choral, in which the voices of costermongers and labourers shamed the languid utterances of most church-goers. We regard this as a matter of detail which must be settled for each congregation, remembering in all things that our object is to be, not the gratification of taste, or any idea of merely rendering the services attractive, but the 'edifying of the Body of Christ.'¹ If the district be an exceptionally bad one, it will be as well that the school-church should not be situate in the worst part. The denizens of a miserable court will be less likely to attend a service when they must do so openly in spite of the public opinion of their neighbours. We have known a man make a circuit for several weeks in order to avoid the observation of his neighbours. We have already mentioned a shoemaker who turned back when within sight of the church-door, because he saw standing in front of it a group of his neighbours, and he dared not pass them to enter. Besides it will be utterly impossible for a very long time to get people of a better class to go into, or allow their children to pass through, the haunts of the miserably poor. Nobody can have much to do with British workmen and their families, without discovering that they are among the most exclusive of aristocrats. They try, as they express it, 'to keep themselves to themselves.' 'We don't acquaint, sir,' is an assertion of self-respect and respectability often heard. Nor is this spirit of exclusiveness to be ascribed to mere selfishness or pride. True, it often issues in the spirit of the question, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' But it has its root in the very necessities of their position. They cannot choose their neighbours, and therefore, with a true instinct of self-preservation, they keep them at a distance. They seek to escape moral taint by isolation. For this reason they will feel their character and position compromised by even entering the low courts in their own neighbourhood, and

¹ In a school-church in London, where the people did not seem to sing heartily the ordinary Anglican chants for the Canticles, the simple Gregorian tones, sung in unison, were introduced, and were easily caught by the people, who thenceforward joined with warmth in the Canticles and Psalms.

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apparently identifying themselves with their dirty, vicious, ill-conditioned, or even simply miserably poor inhabitants. It will be found desirable, then, to place the school-church, for it will be quite as well to avoid the word '*mission*'—as having plenty of other work to do—on the outskirts of the lowest part of the population who are to be induced to use it, rather than in the very centre of it. A suitable building should be provided as a first step, and this will involve not only the school-church itself, which should be devoted to services and religious instruction only, but also a large room in which mothers' meetings, evening classes, a penny bank, and other useful work may be carried on. There should certainly be a portion of the 'church' separated or curtained off by way of chancel. We attach considerable importance to this detail. There should be as complete a change as can be made in the aspect of the room when it is used for service and when it is used for school and other purposes. Of course, if possible, it should be used for service only, but such consecration is not always attainable. If the Holy Table be placed on a dais, or platform, there will probably be no need of a pulpit. But nothing else that is customary in the fittings of a church should be omitted. Desk, lectern, credence table, and font, each has its place, and its lesson to teach. A small frame in a prominent position in which the numbers of the hymns may be placed before service, will be a useful adjunct. Many of our Oxford readers will remember the frame with its large plain figures in St. Mary's, in front of the organ, at which, in old days, Dr. Elvey so ably presided. The numbers of the hymns so displayed are useful both to the old, who are perhaps somewhat deaf, and to the horny-fingered workers whose honourable toil has rendered them slow in turning over the leaves of a book, and who will often come early on purpose to look out the hymns that will be sung. We mention this as one of the many little details which the evangelist must not allow himself to think beneath his notice. If, as Bacon tells us, what we call good fortune is the result of a combination of many secret and hidden qualities, so success in the work we speak of will be found to be due, in great measure, to an attention to little details—an attention, however, that is the outcome of the great master-motive—love to those for whom Christ died.

In another respect, also, will he feel and show his care for the weakness of his people. He will not forget that their capacity for sustained attention is very slight; that the length of several continuous services will be painful to them. He will not repel them by Mattins, Litany, and Holy Communion,

with sermon, at one stretch. He will often use the 'shortened forms.' He will preach his sermon at the close of Morning Prayer, when children and others who wish to do so may retire, and he will have at times the pleasure of seeing the *whole* of his adult congregation remain to the celebration, which of course will not involve a second sermon.

The evangelist must not be too ready to seek help from his friends as preachers. Most of them will do his work more harm than good. Few strangers can do more than puzzle his congregation, to whom, moreover, they will, as strangers, be unacceptable. We have known seven or eight men come to the door of a school-church, and go away on seeing that the service was being conducted by one they did not know. They do not like a change. The sermons should be conversational and unconventional, instructive rather than hortatory. The evangelist should look at his congregation and talk. He must see whether they understand him. He will remember the very limited vocabulary they possess, and he will frequently explain Bible words which, having become technical words of theology, are usually taken for granted in sermons. He will not read from a manuscript; still less will he deliver such a sermon as we once heard read in a mission church from an ill-concealed volume, containing sentences like this, 'Unconditional and unfeigned submission is the normal attitude of the soul towards God.' Such preaching in an unknown tongue can scarcely be edifying. He will not try to put too much into his sermons. An exposition of Gospel or Epistle, with one or two lessons well enforced, will be quite sufficient. As a rule, the sermons in our churches are too long. In the school-church a quarter of an hour well used will be better than half an hour. The sermon will be most beneficial when the hearers leave the banquet with an appetite.¹

In carrying out the practical work of a mission district we believe that he who most fully and courageously represents the full mind of the Church of England will have the greatest success. At the East-end of London, and, so far as we have been able to learn, with the poorest of our town population, Dissent has utterly failed. There cannot then be a greater mistake than to cut down the teaching and services of our Church to utter dreariment; to show a regard for spiritual

¹ There may be a morbid appetite for sermons. An old lady once lay in wait, at the doors of a proprietary chapel in London, for the minister, who was not, as we remember, remarkable for brevity, with the question, 'Don't you think, sir, that *considering the price of the seats*, your sermon was *rather* short?'

things by a meagre shabbiness in the appointments of the church; to place the Holy Table in front of the pulpit, and flank it with a couple of kitchen chairs; or to think that in order to fill a mission-room with the 'pure Gospel' it is necessary to repel worshippers by making them shiver or yawn. The fact is that ill-educated people have very little power of attention. They need all the helps of a liturgical service, its frequent responses, its varied harmonies of praise and prayer; they need the change of position, the accompaniment of music, to call forth and sustain their energies of mind and spirit. They think slowly, and therefore the prayers they are to pray should be familiar. They dislike changes in what they are accustomed to enjoy. The *use* of the mission-church should therefore vary as little as possible. A good suggestion is made by 'An Old Lay-Helper,'¹ that a stereotyped, unvarying office should be printed on a stout card for distribution at the mission-service, and adhered to constantly. The lessons and hymns will ensure sufficient variety. If this course be not adopted the children should be taught, as soon as they are able to learn, how to find their places in the Prayer-Book, and they will either find them for their elders, or teach them where to look. Still, the congregation will have few prejudices. They would support the authority of 'our minister' against the Church Association, Lord Penzance, or even the bench of Bishops. It will be long before they visit any other churches; and when they do they will come back and mention with disapproval any variation from their own use which they may have observed. The ritualist who preaches in a black gown will excite great wonderment if they chance to have met with him. They will be equally astounded at the many-coloured vestments that are occasionally to be seen if, as is most likely, they have been used to no other vestment than the comely surplice and the academical hood.

At first the mission priest must be servant-of-all-work; but he will from the outset aim at getting a body of helpers, whom he has trained and can trust. He will soon find his work changing its character. He will no longer, as the general in Homeric battles, be leader and fighting-man at once.

'Minor duties can be as well discharged by others as by himself. Let him remember that his own peculiar office, which no one else *can* fill, is to organize, to direct, to control, to cheer, to animate—to be the visible centre of the Lord's forces in the parish. . . . As there is a diversity of gifts, so undoubtedly there are uses for them

¹ *The Masses, how shall we reach them?* p. 8.

all in the spiritual warfare, and let him see to it that (so far as the matter rests with him) everyone shall have his chance of using his gifts directly in the service of the Church.¹

In his next paragraph our author puts the following question, to which he tells us he has been unable to obtain an answer: 'Why is it that there is such a deep-rooted antipathy among us to the homely prayer meeting? . . . The prejudice against it betrays a want of knowledge of the best side of human nature' (p. 107). The answer simply is that prayer above all things must be reverent. To very few is the power of extemporaneous prayer given. Even the priest of deep piety and long experience, whose memory is saturated with the Prayer-Book, will address himself to unpremeditated prayer with the feeling that his words must be 'wary and few.' At the prayer-meeting usually those who are least instructed want to take the lead, and in many cases *will* take it. The mission priest may have laid out his plans, appointed those who are to pray, limited them as to time and subject, or have simply committed the office to those whom he could trust. Yet, when the meeting is once started, he will be helpless to check extravagances. Some chance attendant or some of his own people will take the bit in their teeth, and make him heartily glad when the meeting breaks up, and when he can depart with an inward determination never to sanction another prayer-meeting. No! let the recruit be trained by giving addresses, by joining in discussions, even by conducting liturgical services; but let him not find his exercise-ground in prayers offered by him at a public or quasi-public meeting, with its terrible temptations to unreality, and to use of words and phrases which, by passing beyond his actual feeling at the time, tend to become something very like cant.

We have said but little of church work among a superior class—the artisans and others who do not as a rule frequent our churches. We have been thinking rather of the most ignorant and the poorest of our varied population. But it is time that our Church bestirred herself with regard to the many different classes of those whose skilful and strong hands, guided by able thinkers and organizers, have placed England foremost among the nations. These men, as a rule, are not Churchmen, still less are they Dissenters, still less are they irreligious. But we have allowed the idea of *worship* to die out among them. They have been called upon to hear sermons, and they say they can read better sermons at home than they

¹ *The Masses, how shall we reach them?* p. 106.

ordinarily get at church, and can read their Bible at home too, if they like. They need to be told, as in grave and weighty words the Bishop of Chester is telling parish after parish of his diocese, that the church is not the mere meeting-house for hearing the words of even the wisest and best of men; it is not the mere meeting-house for the assembling of the most concordant spirits, for the most sympathetic company of fellow-believers. It is the House of God. It is not only the place where we come to call upon God, for in every place we can lift up our hearts and call upon Him. It is the place *to which God calls us*. It is the place where we meet Him, where He waits for us, where He expects us, where He reveals Himself. The House of God is still the Gate of Heaven. Thus it is the spiritual home—the centre of the religious life of the parish or district, and this life realizes itself and finds its due expression in worship and worship alone. The clergy have, as a rule, given so little teaching on this elementary point that it has been practically dropped out of the popular religion. We, clergy and laity alike, have allowed isolation and individualism to pass itself off as God's truth, till we have taught every man to be his own Pope. But of our Church's claim to be historically one with the society founded by Our Lord, endowed with corporate life on the day of Pentecost by the Holy Ghost, and destined to work out God's mighty purposes for the improvement of the world, the salvation of individual souls, and His own glory, we have told 'the masses' *nothing*. Is it cowardice, is it unfaith, that has made us leave them to be carried away with every blast of vain doctrine? Will nothing short of disestablishment and disendowment—which we might make an impossibility, not merely for the present, but, perhaps, in God's providence, to the very end of time—make us equal to the grandeur of our position, and teach us not to despise our birthright, because God has *given* it to us?

There is to-day a wondrous future before the Church. On every side the clouds are lifting, not in England only, but at the ends of the world. Will this generation of English Churchmen be equal to the work God has set before them? Shall we fold our hands to rest, or say there is a lion in the path? Or shall we do with our might all that our hand findeth to do? It will not suffice to leave the work to the clergy. The best of them are already well-nigh overburdened with what they have immediately before them, and the day is gone by when a layman's part was sufficiently performed when he had contributed his annual guinea to some sleepy

society, or had given with conventional and unquestioning liberality every time a plate was handed to him in church. It is high time that good men of every school gave up biting and devouring one another over questions of ritual, and even important matters of controversy. Let them take on themselves dull, useful drudgery, till they like it; let them pray and study at home, and talk abroad, until they form an enlightened public opinion on this subject. So shall we escape the curse of Meroz and its inhabitants, who 'came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty.'

ART. III.—ON SOME PATRISTIC INTERPRETATIONS OF SCRIPTURE IN THE SECOND CENTURY.

1. *Iustini Philosophi et Martyris Opera quæ feruntur omnia*: ad optimos libros MSS. nunc primum aut denuo collatos recensuit, Prolegomenis et Commentariis instruxit, Translatione Latina ornavit, Indices adiecit IO. CAR. TH. EQUES DE OTTO. (Ienæ, 1876.)
2. *Sancti Irenæi Episcopi Lugdunensis Libri Quinque adversus Hæreses*. Textu Græco in locis nonnullis locupletato, versione Latina cum codicibus Claromontano ac Arundeliano denuo collata, præmissa de placitis Gnosticorum prolusione, fragmenta necnon Græce, Syriace, Armeniace, commentatione perpetua et indicibus variis edidit W. WIGAN HARVEY, S.T.B. (Cantabrigiæ, 1857.)
3. *The Right Use of the Early Fathers*. Two Courses of Lectures by J. J. BLUNT, B.D., late Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. (London, 1857.)
4. *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, drawn from the writings of St. Augustine*. With an Introductory Essay on Augustine as an Interpreter of Scripture. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. Fourth edition. (London, 1881.)

APART from the evidence which they bear to the extent and limits of the canon of the New Testament, a subject on which many treatises have been written, the works of the early Fathers have a high value to the student of the New Testa-

ment, not only as evidences of the text, but also as witnesses for its interpretation. It is curious, however, how little there is on this subject accessible to ordinary readers, and how much still remains to be done before their precise value can be duly estimated. There is, of course, Archbishop Trench's delightful essay 'On the Merits of S. Augustine as an Interpreter of Scripture,' which is probably known to most readers of the *Church Quarterly Review*. There are also a few monographs on particular Fathers, such as those by Bishop Kaye; and in the now well-nigh forgotten work of Professor Blunt on the Early Fathers, there are a few chapters devoted to the subject of 'the Fathers as Interpreters of Scripture.' These, however, are very meagre, and scarcely make a pretence of dealing with the subject in a critical spirit. We propose therefore in the present paper to offer a few remarks upon the value of patristic interpretations, illustrating the matter in hand by typical instances, which, if they do nothing else, will at least serve to show how little heed the majority of modern commentators pay to the subject, and how seriously our modern exegesis suffers from this neglect.

And here we would say at the outset that it is not our intention to deal with the great writers of the fourth century. 'There were giants in the earth in those days.' The majestic intellect and exegetical tact of Augustine, the splendid eloquence and practical common sense of Chrysostom, and the wide learning and trenchant style of Jerome, *command* admiration, while the labours of Origen on the sacred text in an earlier century—whatever may be thought of his particular method of interpretation—are never now spoken of without respect. But we propose to go further back than these, to the *second* century, and to writers who are roundly abused as 'credulous' and 'uncritical,' and whose authority, we are told, on the interpretation of Scripture is absolutely worthless. We shall therefore confine ourselves mainly, though not exclusively, to the writings of Justin Martyr and Irenæus, as being the two chief Fathers of the age in question—the only ones, in fact, of whose writings any considerable portion has come down to us; and our endeavour will be to fix their value for us as aids to the criticism of the New Testament.

Now there are three chief ways in which the quotations from and allusions to the New Testament in the writings of the early Fathers may be useful to the student: (I.) For *textual criticism*; (II.) for *interpretation* in the wider sense of the term, as including not merely the lexical meaning of the words, but their more general reference, bearing, allusions,

&c.; (III.) for *translation*, as enabling us to decide between the different renderings suggested.

I. *Textual Criticism*.—Here we are met at once by a grave difficulty, arising from the fact that 'so little real critical care has yet been spent in editing the writings of the Fathers.'¹ Thus the editions often rest on a few MSS. only, and those perhaps imperfectly collated. Again, where the editions are up to the requirements of modern scholarship, the MSS. of the Father may be of late date and comparatively few in number. 'Not many,' says Dr. Scrivener, 'are older than the tenth century, the far greater part are considerably more modern.'² Thus the text of the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria rests on a single MS. of the eleventh century. Of Irenæus the three best MSS. are in Latin only, and none of them are older than the tenth century. Justin Martyr's *Apology* and *Dialogue* exist in but two MSS., and those of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively. Further, it is precisely in the matter of quotations from Scripture that copyists were under the greatest temptation to alter the text before them, where it differed from the reading with which they were familiar. Sometimes the alteration may have been made of set purpose in order to bring the text of the Father whose work was being transcribed into harmony with the version of Scripture in common use. More often, perhaps, the familiar reading would be accidentally and involuntarily substituted for that which was actually in the MS. which lay before the copyist. In order to illustrate and establish the existence of this fruitful source of error, an example may be drawn from the writings of Irenæus. In Book III. ch. xi. of his great work on Heresies he has occasion to refer to the hymn of the angels in S. Luke ii. 14. The passage is extant only in the Latin translation, which is, however, the work of a contemporary, as it was apparently known to Tertullian. According to the MSS. the verse is quoted in § 3, '*Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.*' But only a few lines below, in § 4, we read as follows:—

'In eo enim quod dicunt, *Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax*, eum qui sit altissimorum, hoc est supercælestium factor, et eorum quæ super terram omnium conditor, his sermonibus glorificaverunt: qui suo plasmati, hoc est hominibus, suam benignitatem salutis de cælo misit.'³

¹ Hammond's *Textual Criticism*, p. 58.

² Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* (3rd ed.), p. 418.

³ Harvey's *Irenæus*, vol. ii. pp. 36, 38.

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In this case the context makes it perfectly certain that the translator really wrote *altissimis* and not *excelsis*, while the closing words of the extract render it more than doubtful whether Irenæus read *εὐδοκίας* and not *εὐδοκία*.¹ Thus it results that at some time or other a copyist must have inserted the *ecclesiastical* version² of this familiar passage instead of carefully adhering to the words of the original translator of Irenæus. This will suffice to indicate the *general* uncertainty attaching to patristic quotations. There are, however, cases where the context and the argument of the writer fix the text for us with absolute certainty, *e.g.*—confining ourselves still to the writings of Irenæus—when S. Matt. i. 18 is quoted in III. ch. xvii. attention is expressly called to the fact that the words are not ‘*Jesu*’ but ‘*Christi* autem generatio sic erat.’ The whole argument turns on this; and in spite of the fact that in III. xi. the Greek as preserved by Germanus has τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ., there can, we think, be no sort of doubt that in the text before Irenæus the personal name *Jesus* was absent.³

Again, it is necessary to point out that there is a real difference between the value of the testimony of a Father to a disputed reading and that which he bears to the presence or absence of a particular verse or passage. The *exact words* are, as we have just seen, often a matter of doubt, being liable to accidents in the course of transcription. But where it is a question whether or no a whole verse should stand as part of the sacred text, the case is widely different. Here the fact that it is quoted by a Father may be taken as proof positive that he read it in his MS. of the New Testament, and thus we can appeal without hesitation to Irenæus as a witness for S. Mark xvi. 9-20. ‘In fine autem Evangelii ait Marcus: *Et quidem Dominus Jesus, postquam locutus est eis, receptus est in celos, et sedet ad dexteram Dei*’ (III. xi.) The importance of this distinction between the doubtful evidence of a Father to a disputed reading, and the certainty of his witness to the genuineness of a verse or section, will easily be seen. In the first case, the value of patristic evidence may be very little. The mere citation of a text in a particular form is no certain proof that the father quoted it in that precise form. Thus strings of ‘Fathers’ cited in support of various readings are very deceptive. They require careful sifting.

¹ Cf. Hort, *Greek Testament*, vol. ii. p. 53.

² Not, however, the *Vulgate*, as Harvey inaccurately states, *l.c.*

³ And yet Dean Burgon unhesitatingly claims Irenæus as a witness to the *textus receptus* in this verse!—*Revision Revised*, p. 122.

Each passage must be judged on its own merits, and only those where the exact words are guaranteed by the argument and the context deserve to be retained and appealed to with security. In cases of the latter kind the matter is widely different. Here the evidence at once deserves the utmost consideration, though we are often doubtful as to the precise form in which Irenæus, for instance, read a particular text, yet we can feel no doubt whatever that he regarded S. Mark xvi. 9-20, and Acts viii. 37,¹ as integral parts of Holy Scripture. Still, it is possible to overrate this branch of evidence, and Dean Burgon entirely overlooks an important factor in the case when he writes as follows:—

‘What is at least beyond the limits of controversy, whenever the genuineness of a considerable passage of Scripture is the point in dispute, the testimony of Fathers who undoubtedly recognize that passage is beyond comparison the most valuable testimony we can enjoy.’²

The truth is that all that the occurrence of a given passage proves is that it was read by a particular Father in his MS. A further question which the Dean entirely ignores in this connexion is this: *What was the character of the MSS. used by the Fathers?*³ There are weighty words in Dr. Scrivener’s *Introduction*, which should prevent rash inferences and hasty conclusions:—

‘It is no less true to fact than paradoxical in sound, that the worst corruptions to which the New Testament has ever been subjected, originated within a hundred years after it was composed; that Irenæus and the African Fathers and the whole Western, with a portion of the Syrian Church, used far inferior manuscripts to those employed by Stunica, or Erasmus, or Stephen, thirteen centuries later, when moulding the *Textus Receptus*.’⁴

This early corruption of the text, although it takes off something from the weight of patristic quotations, is nevertheless not without a certain value of its own, as an evidence of the antiquity of the books of the New Testament. A text which was so corrupt and faulty by A.D. 180, about which date Irenæus wrote, must already have had a long history. Time is required for corruptions to creep in, and for erroneous readings to spread. Thus the date of the books so corrupted

¹ See Book III. c. xii. § 10; and cf. IV. xxxvii. 2.

² *The last twelve verses of S. Mark*, p. 22.

³ This consideration is also entirely ignored by Mr. Miller in his *Textual Guide*, p. 116.

⁴ *Introduction, &c.*, p. 511.

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is of necessity *pushed back* far behind the age to which the negative critics would assign many of them. We have not space to follow up this line of thought at present, but the reader will find the argument admirably and convincingly worked out by Dr. Sanday in his interesting volume on *The Gospels in the Second Century* (ch. xiii.). But to return. Each Father must be considered on his own merits, and we must discover if possible the kind of text which he used. When this is done he will take his place among other authorities, and his value will vary in accordance with the character of the text that he is known to have had before him. Sometimes it will be greater: sometimes less. It is never right to ignore it, but it is uncritical to mass the Fathers together as witnesses to the text, and to appeal to them indiscriminately, as if their witness was once for all conclusive.

We have thought it well to offer these remarks on this branch of our subject, not because the argument is new, but because we have reason to know that in spite of all that has been written upon it there is still a good deal of confusion of thought, and the exact position of patristic evidence in matters of textual criticism is not so widely recognised as it should be.

II. Let us now consider *the Fathers as interpreters of the sacred text*. Without pinning our faith to any particular view of that much abused and little understood term 'tradition,' it is evident that the earlier Fathers have a *primâ facie* claim on our attention as those who lived nearest to the times of the Apostles, and were therefore in the best possible position to understand the meaning of their teaching. The objections to this which are commonly raised are chiefly applicable to an exaggerated estimate of the value of traditional interpretation. What may fairly be claimed to start with is that as witnesses of *doctrine*, the importance of the Fathers is very great. Irenæus is only removed from S. John by one teacher, Polycarp, and the preservation of his invaluable letter to Florinus is the strongest possible guarantee for the continuity of the doctrinal teaching of the early Church. The passage is doubtless familiar to most of our readers, but will bear quoting once more:—

'These doctrines, Florinus, to say the least, are not of a sound understanding. These doctrines are inconsistent with the Church, and involve those that follow them in the greatest impiety. These doctrines not even the heretics outside the Church ever ventured to assert. These doctrines were never delivered to thee by the Presbyters before us, those who also were the immediate disciples of the

Apostles. For I saw thee when I was yet a boy in the Lower Asia with Polycarp, whilst thou wast moving in great splendour at court, and endeavouring by all means to gain his esteem. For I distinctly remember the events of those times much better than those of more recent occurrence.¹ For the studies of our youth, growing with the growth of our minds, are united with them so firmly, that I can tell also the very place where the blessed Polycarp was accustomed to sit and discourse; and also his goings out and comings in, the complexion of his life, and his personal appearance, and his conversations with the people, and how he used to describe his familiar intercourse with John and with the rest of those who had seen the Lord; and how he used to relate their discourses, and whatever things he had heard from them concerning the Lord, concerning both his miracles and his doctrine, all these were told by Polycarp, in consistency with the Holy Scriptures, as he had received them from the eyewitnesses of the life of the Word. These things, by the mercy of God then bestowed upon me, I attentively heard, noting them down not on paper, but in my heart; and these same facts I am always in the habit, by the grace of God, of recalling faithfully to mind. And I can bear witness in the sight of God that if that blessed and Apostolic Presbyter had heard any such thing as this, he would have exclaimed and stopped his ears, and, according to his custom, would have said, "O good God, unto what times hast Thou reserved me, that I should tolerate these things!" He would have fled from the place in which he sat or stood on hearing doctrines like these."²

We are at a loss to conceive how any unprejudiced person after reading this can imagine that there is room for change in the teaching of the Church between the days of the Apostles and those of Irenæus. For *doctrine* it is impossible to over-estimate the value of Irenæus as a writer, and the preservation of this letter to Florinus appears to us nothing short of a special providence. But to pass from *doctrine* to *exegesis*. When we come to consider the interpretation of particular texts, the case is widely different. Here we must carefully

¹ How true to life this is! The following passages from the work of an eminent scientific man might have been written as a commentary upon it. 'During the decline of life, the influence of early habits and associations often asserts itself in a very remarkable degree; those which have been formed during the middle period being retained with far less tenacity. And thus it happens that the knowledge *last* acquired is often forgotten *first*, whilst that which was *earliest* learned is retained to the *latest* period.' 'The impairment of the memory in old age commonly shows itself in regard to *new* impressions, those of the earlier period of life not only remaining in full distinctness, but even, it would seem, *increasing* in vividness, from the fact that the eye is not distracted from attending to them by the continual influx of impressions produced by passing events.' (Carpenter's *Mental Physiology*, pp. 346, 442.)

² Ep. to Florinus in Euseb. *H. E.*, V. xx.; cf. Lightfoot's *Ignatius*, vol. i. p. 429, 538.

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distinguish. And first it will be well to mark out four different cases in which patristic interpretations are not of any high value to us.

(a) Quotations of texts which are differently explained by the same author in different parts of his work, thus suggesting carelessness on the part of the writer.

(b) Cases where a writer's acknowledged blunders diminish his authority for facts.

(c) Cases where controversial bias or prejudice may have influenced the exposition.

(d) Cases where a statement of conflicting explanations by the writer himself shows that no traditional interpretation was current in the Church.

Let us illustrate briefly these different groups, still keeping mainly to the writings of Irenæus.

(a) When a writer gives us entirely different explanations of a given text in different passages of the same work, it is hard to resist the conclusion that he was taking his Scripture proof without that careful consideration which alone would give it any real value: *e.g.*, there are, as is well known, two conflicting interpretations of S. Paul's words in Ephesians iv. 9. 'Now this, He ascended, what is it but that He also descended into the lower parts of the earth' (*εἰς τὰ κατώτερα τῆς γῆς*)? The translation there is no doubt about: but it is an open question whether the reference is to the Incarnation or to the descent into hell. Bishop Ellicott decides in favour of the latter, which he calls the 'ancient interpretation,' and appeals to Irenæus as supporting it.¹ Now it is perfectly true that in IV. xxxvi. and V. xxxi., Irenæus does bring the passage forward as illustrating the *descensus in inferna*; but when we discover that in III. xx. and xxiv. he quotes it as alluding to the Incarnation, it is plain that no real support in behalf of either reference can be drawn from his writings.

(b) Once more, as to a matter of *fact*. What weight are we to assign to the view of the same Father that the nameless feast of S. John v. 1 was a Passover (Irenæus II. xxxiii)? At first sight one is inclined to give considerable weight to this, owing to the connexion of Irenæus with Polycarp, and of Polycarp with S. John. But our first estimate is decidedly lowered when we reflect that elsewhere Irenæus makes frequent blunders in matters of *fact*. Some of these are collected by Dr. Abbott in his work *On the Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*, and it must be confessed that

¹ Ephesians, p. 85. Cf. Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*, Art. V. ch. i. § 5.

they seriously diminish our confidence in appealing to this Father on such a matter as that in question.

'Even in referring to the Gospels he makes mistakes, and occasionally very strange ones. For example, in describing the raising up of the daughter of Jairus (II. xxiv. 4), he says that Jesus suffered no one to go in, save Peter and James, and the father and mother of the maiden—omitting John. Again, after quoting Matthew xi. 27, "No man knoweth the Son but the Father;" (and similarly Luke x. 22) he continues, "Thus hath Matthew set it down, and Luke in like manner, and Mark the very same," whereas Mark altogether omits this passage. He mentions Jesus as raising up "the deceased daughter of the high priest," meaning by high priest, Jairus, the ruler of the synagogue' (V. xiii. 1).¹

These are not the only instances, but they are sufficient to shake the authority of Irenæus with regard to such details as that of which we have been speaking.

(c) There is the third case to be mentioned. The devil, as we all know, can quote Scripture when it serves his purpose; and so could the Gnostics of the second century. Their extraordinary jargon was to a large extent made up of Scripture phrases and expressions (e.g. *μονογενής, σωτήρ, πλήρωμα, λόγος*) strung together in a marvellous way. Nor was their use of Scripture confined to isolated words torn from the context and made to fit in with their system. They sometimes boldly ventured to quote whole texts in support of their views as 'Scripture proof,' just as later heretics of every kind have endeavoured to do. In such cases as these it must be candidly admitted that the Fathers were not always particularly happy in their replies, and that there are instances in which under pressure of immediate controversial necessities they were forced to give strained and unnatural interpretations, which the common sense of the later Church has wisely disregarded. This may be illustrated from 2 Cor. iv. 4: 'In whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.' Here the Gnostics appealed to S. Paul's expression 'the god of this world' as giving sanction to their view of a distinction between the Demiurge and the Supreme God. Irenæus meets them, not by boldly accepting the phrase as it fell from the lips of the Apostle, but by a forced interpretation connecting the words *τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* with what follows, instead of with what precedes.

¹ *Common Tradition*, &c., p. xvii.

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He first points out that elsewhere S. Paul uses transposition of words, and then goes on to say: 'Paul does not say "the god of this world," as if recognizing any other beyond Him; but he confessed God as indeed God. And he says, "the unbelievers of this world" (*infideles sæculi hujus*), because they shall not inherit the future age (*sæculum*) of incorruption.'¹

Another passage where the interpretation of the early Church went wrong, owing to the misuse of it by the Gnostics, was S. John v. 25-29. A passage, says Archbishop Trench, 'the interpretation of which Augustine was the first to set upon its right basis.'²

'The earlier expositors were driven—apparently by their antagonism to the Gnostics, who denied a resurrection of the body, and consequently spiritualized the whole passage—into an opposite extreme, understanding it throughout as having reference, and that exclusively, to the bodily resurrection at the end of the world (so Tertullian, *De Res. Car.* 37). . . . Nor did the succeeding expositors, either of the Greek or Latin Church—Chrysostom, or Jerome, or Ambrose—extricate themselves from this erroneous track. Augustine was the first to show plainly that a literal construction of the whole passage is as much an error, though the error is more venial, as one which spiritualizes it wholly; that the Lord in fact is here speaking of *two* resurrections: in verse 25, 26, of a spiritual resurrection already present, the quickening of the spirits of as many as hear and obey his voice; and then, in verse 28, 29, of that universal bodily resurrection which shall be at the end of the world.'

(d) Our fourth class contains those passages where the Fathers themselves give us distinct evidence that they had no traditional interpretation. In V. xxx. Irenæus has a remarkable discussion of Rev. xiii. 18, 'the number of the beast . . . and his number is six hundred and sixty and six,' of which it will be well to quote a portion:—

'Such, then, being the case, and this number being found in all the most approved and ancient copies, and those who saw John face to face bearing their testimony to it, and reason itself showing us that the number of the name of the beast indicated by the Greek letters contained in it will amount to six hundred and sixty-six . . . I do not know how it is that some have erred following a particular reading,³ and have vitiated the middle number in the name, deducting the amount of fifty from it, so that instead of six decads they will have it

¹ Iren. III. vii. 1. Cf. IV. xlv. 1. The same interpretation is given by Tertullian, *Cont. Marc.* v. 11 (although he suggests the true interpretation as a simpler one), as well as Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, and others. See Meyer's note, *Commentary on Corinthians II.* p. 228 (E. T.).

² *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount*, p. 80.

³ ἰδιωτισμός.

that there is but one. . . . It is more certain and less hazardous to await the fulfilment of the prophecy rather than to be making surmises and casting about for any names that may present themselves, inasmuch as many names can be found possessing the number mentioned, and the same question will after all remain unsolved. For if there are many names possessing this number it will be asked which among them shall the coming man bear.' (Irenæus then suggests several, Evanthas, Lateinos, and Teitan, inclining himself towards the latter, but ends by saying), 'We will not incur the risk of pronouncing positively as to the name of Antichrist; for if it were necessary that his name should be distinctly revealed in this present time, it would have been announced by him who beheld the Apocalyptic vision.'

Now from this discussion two conclusions are irresistible: (1) that the *reading 666* was fixed by tradition; and (2) that with regard to the *interpretation* of the reading the Church did not pretend to any sort of traditional guidance. It is clear, then, that, as far as the explanation of the passage is concerned, Irenæus in the second century was in no better position for understanding its true meaning than an intelligent commentator of the present day.¹

Our four cases have now been sufficiently illustrated, and it will be seen from what has been said that a number of considerations have to be taken into account before we can make use of the Fathers as guides to the interpretation of Scripture. Are we then to conclude that they are of little or no value to us in this respect? By no means. Even when we have eliminated all those references to Holy Scripture which fall under the four heads enumerated above, and have made all necessary deductions on the score of carelessness, prejudice, and want of critical insight, we shall still have a large number of passages remaining, which may be further divided as follows:—

(e) Those cases in which the writer himself tells us that he is giving the traditional interpretation.

(f) Those in which a particular interpretation is fixed as traditional by a *consensus patrum*.

(g) Those where the interpretation must be judged on its own merits, as there is no special reason for thinking that any of the above-mentioned influences (a-f) have been at work.

These cases must now be illustrated.

(e) Sometimes we have direct evidence that a traditional interpretation was current, and that the Fathers, in giving it, were simply handing on what they had themselves received

¹ It is evident, too, from the language of Justin Martyr (*Dialogue*, c. lxxx.) that there was no certainty as to the interpretation of the 'thousand years' in Rev. xx.

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from those who went before them. *E.g.* in V. xxxvi. Irenæus tells us that 'the elders' explained our Lord's words in S. John xiv. 2, 'In My Father's house are many mansions,' as implying *variety* of resting-places in accordance with the varying amount of fruit borne by the faithful,¹ thus teaching (what is clearly stated elsewhere) that there will be different degrees of felicity hereafter. In such a case we cannot afford to disregard the witness borne to S. John's meaning. The elders were, from their position, likely to be in possession of the true drift of the Apostle's teaching, and there seems to be no valid ground for deserting their explanation.

(f) In other cases, where no such definite statement is made, it is sometimes possible to establish a *consensus patrum* which practically settles the interpretation of the text for us. In this way there are not a few important doctrinal passages whose meaning is fixed beyond reasonable doubt, such as S. John iii. 5 and Romans ix. 5. With regard to the former of these it will be remembered that the Puritans of the sixteenth century denied its reference to external baptism, and to hide the consent of the early Church, 'cunningly affirmed that "certain" have taken those words as meant of material water.' To whom Hooker with crushing force replies that, 'of all the ancients there is not one to be named that ever did otherwise expound or allege the place than as implying external baptism.'² The same consent may be predicated of the Catholic interpretation of Romans ix. 5, which refers the whole clause to Christ, an interpretation on which the Revisers of the New Testament have needlessly thrown doubt, telling us in the margin, with extraordinary simplicity, that 'some modern interpolaters place a full stop after *flesh*, and translate *He who is God over all be (is) blessed for ever*; or, *He who is over all is God, blessed for ever*. Others punctuate, *flesh, who is over all. God be (is) blessed for ever*.' It has always appeared to us that Dean Burgon *did* make a real point against the Revisers when he asked the pertinent question:—

'Is it then the function of divines appointed to *revise the Authorized Version*, to give information to the ninety millions of English-speaking Christians scattered throughout the world as to the unfaithfulness of "*some modern interpreters*"? We have hitherto supposed that it was "*ancient authorities*" exclusively—(whether "*a few*," or "*some*," or "*many*,")—to which we are invited to submit our judgment. How does it come to pass that *the Socinian gloss* on this grand text

¹ The same interpretation is also given by Tertullian (*De Monog.* c. x.), 'Merces varia . . . multæ mansiones penes patrem eundem.'

² Hooker, *E. P.*, V. lix. 3.

(Rom. ix. 5) has been brought into such extraordinary prominence? Did our Revisionists consider that their marginal note would travel to earth's remotest verge—give universal currency to the view of 'some modern interpreters,' and, in the end, 'tell it out among the heathen' also?¹

(8) Our last class contains those interpretations which must be judged on their own merits. And here it would be easy to collect a large number of passages in which the 'uncritical' Fathers have preserved the true interpretation, while a great many 'critical' scholars of later date have gone astray. We must, however, content ourselves with two instances. How often is 1 Cor. xiii. 14 misinterpreted! Even Bishop Wordsworth writes as follows: '*But now*, in this present state of being (as contradistinguished from hereafter; see on xiv. 6), *abide these three* Christian graces; that is *these* three are *permanent in this world*, which the *supernatural χαρίσματα* are not. This is said to show their dignity. How great, therefore, *à fortiori*, is the dignity of love which will survive the two other graces!' Yet here we think that there can be no reasonable doubt that the view is correct which gives to *νυνί* a logical and not temporal sense. 'So now, you see, abide &c. ;' and this view is found to have the support of Irenæus (IV. xxii. 2). 'Et Paulus autem: Adimpletio, inquit, Legis dilectio: *et omnibus cæteris evacuatis, manere fidem, spem, dilectionem.*'²

Again, in Phil. ii. 15, what is the exact meaning of *φωστῆρες*? Some moderns see in it an allusion to earthly lights as of lamps or candles.³ But here, too, Irenæus has preserved for us a more probable explanation, connecting the words with the heavenly bodies (IV. x. 1):—

'Ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβράαμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην' πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ ποιητὴς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, μόνος Θεός· ἔπειτα δὲ, ὅτι ποιήσει τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ὡς τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. τούτεστι τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου εἰρημένον· ὡς φωστῆρες ἐν κόσμῳ.

Archbishop Trench, who claims for S. Augustine the credit of this interpretation, points out truly enough that the word which stands in Phil. ii. 15 for 'lights' is 'never used in the LXX or New Testament to signify aught but the heavenly luminaries.'⁴

Economy of space forbids us to give further illustrations,

¹ *The Revision Revised*, p. 211.

² The original Greek is lost, but the meaning of Irenæus is clear enough from the Latin.

³ See Bishop Wordsworth, and *The Speaker's Commentary*, in loc.

⁴ *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount*, p. 149.

but we trust that enough has now been said to establish the real value of these early patristic interpretations; and in what remains of this paper we must confine ourselves to the third division of the whole subject, and consider, lastly,—

III. How the early Fathers may be useful for actual *translation*, as distinct from interpretation in the wider sense which has just been treated of; and how they may enable us to decide between different renderings suggested.

Now the point to which we are anxious to draw attention is this:—Where there is a doubt about the exact meaning of a Greek word in the New Testament, those who lived nearest to the age of the writers, to whom Greek was a living and spoken language, are surely our best guides to the translation. If we can discover by the context what the word actually meant to them, we have a clue to its true interpretation, which we hold it to be most uncritical to disregard. We must, it is true, always bear in mind the fact that words are liable to change their meaning as time goes on, and that technical terms in particular have a tendency to be more and more restricted in their use. We are all familiar with the history of such words as *λειτουργία*, *εὐχαριστία*, or *εὐαγγέλιον*. The tendency to narrow and specialize their meaning began in very early days. Even in the writings of Ignatius *εὐχαριστία* is definitely applied to the Holy Communion,¹ while Justin Martyr speaks of the written records of our Lord's life as already called *εὐαγγέλια*.² It would, we fully admit, be a serious error to *read back* the restricted meaning of these words into the New Testament,³ but such terms are comparatively few in number, and as a general rule it is not difficult to trace the course of their history. Putting them therefore aside, we may fairly claim that the Greek of the Fathers of the second century is practically the same as the Greek of the writers of the New Testament in the first. The interval between S. Paul and Justin Martyr, or between S. John and Irenæus, is so short that there really is not time to admit of any great change in the character of the language or the meaning of words. Thus, any incidental allusions to Holy Scripture of such a character

¹ See Ignatius, *Philad.* 4 (with Bishop Lightfoot's note); Smyrn. 6 and 8; and Justin's *Apol.* i. 64, 65. *Εὐχαριστία* is also used in the *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων*, c. ix.

² Justin, *Apol.* i. 66. There is really no doubt about the genuineness of the reading. See Otto's note *in loc.*

³ As is actually done with regard to *εὐχαριστία* by Johnson, *Unbloody Sacrifice*, i. 2, vol. ii. p. 66 (*A. C. Lib.*); and with regard to *εὐαγγέλιον* in Rom. ii. 16, &c., even by so early a writer as Origen. Cf. Wordsworth on 2 Cor. viii. 18.

as to show what a doubtful word actually meant to Justin or to Irenæus, became most important. Though not strictly contemporaries of the Apostles, yet these writers are sufficiently near to their time to be our best guides towards the meaning of their language; and wherever in translating the New Testament the lexicon gives a choice of two or three possible meanings of a word, any quotations in early Fathers in which the context makes clear which was the precise meaning which usage led him to give to the word in question, afford us what appears to be an almost certain clue to the right translation. It comes very near to being that *expositio contemporanea* which is of universally admitted weight in determining the significance of any document. All this seems sufficiently obvious; but it is strangely neglected by the majority of modern commentators. It is recognised as freely and fully as we could desire by so brilliant a scholar as Mr. W. H. Simcox in his interesting volume on *The Beginnings of the Christian Church*, where, after quoting the reference to 1 Tim. iii. 15, in the Epistle of the Church of Lyons and Vienna, he remarks that '*the way in which these early Christians understood S. Paul's words (1 Tim. iii. 15) is surely decisive as to their true sense.*'¹ Dr. Sanday, also, in speaking of the advantages, denied to us, which the Fathers possessed, points out that 'the language of the New Testament which is to us dead, was to them living, so that they cannot be otherwise than valuable authorities on the subject of Greek idiom.'² But he does not follow up the subject, nor offer any further remarks upon it. And when we turn to particular passages in the commentaries in ordinary use, it is astonishing how persistently this great and invaluable aid to the translation of Scripture is ignored. These are strong words, but we proceed to justify them. And first, we will give an instance of the utmost importance, drawn from the account of the institution of the Holy Communion.

S. Luke xxii. 19, *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*. How are we to translate *ποιεῖν* in this passage? The R. V. (like the A. V.) renders 'This *do*,' without a hint that any other translation is possible. In the *Speaker's Commentary* there is no note of any kind upon the words, either in S. Luke xxii. or in the parallel passage in 1 Cor. xi. In Bishop Ellicott's *New Testament for English Readers*, in the notes on S. Luke, Dean Plumptre comments on *εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*, but gives nothing on *ποιεῖν*; while Mr. Teignmouth Shore, who writes

¹ P. 419; cf. p. 417.

² *Inaugural Lecture*, p. 59.

on 1 Corinthians, has not a word to say on either part of the whole clause. Dean Alford's treatment of the words is remarkable. In commenting on S. Luke, he passes over them in silence; but in writing on 1 Corinthians, he refers us to his note on S. Matthew (τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, see note on Matt.). After this we expect to discover *some* notice taken of the words, but on turning out the reference we are astonished to find that, although a few remarks are offered on the 'commemorative part of the rite,' yet there is not a syllable on ποιεῖν and its meaning! Archdeacon Farrar, who supplies the notes on S. Luke in the *Cambridge Bible*, agrees with the foregoing in not considering the word of sufficient importance to demand elucidation; and even Isaac Williams (*Holy Week*, p. 455, sq.) passes it over in silence.

To come now to those commentators who do notice the word. Bishop Wordsworth writes: '*Do this*. It is alleged by Romish divines that ποιεῖτε has here a *sacrificial* meaning. But this is refuted by our Lord's own use of ποιεῖν at this time. The Apostles could not now suppose themselves to be priests, not being of the line of Aaron.' Webster and Wilkinson: 'Ποιεῖτε: *i.e.* break and eat the bread, 1 Cor. xi. 24, 26. ποιεῖν is often used to avoid the repetition of the preceding verb, like *do* in English, *facere* in Latin; cf. 1 Thes. iv. 10.' Mr. Agar Beet: '*Do this*: break and distribute the bread: spoken probably while Christ was giving the bread to His disciples, Matt. xxvi. 26.'¹ Dean Stanley: 'This do, both as applied to the bread and the cup, must refer to the thanksgiving just described (εὐχαριστήσας), "Give thanks to God in remembrance of Me, in all your meals." Not much more thorough are the comments of foreign writers. Neither Godet nor Olshausen has anything to say on the word. Meyer has the following: 'Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε: to wit, the breaking of the bread after thanksgiving, and the distribution and partaking of the same. On ποιεῖν, occupying the place of more definite verbs, which the context suggests, see Bornemann, and Kühner, *ad Xen. Mem.* iii. 8. 2; Schoemann, *ad Is. de Ap. her.* 35.' While—to go back to an earlier age and to a writer who is in general most suggestive—all that Bengel has to say is this: 'Ποιεῖτε, *facite*: edite. *Facere non habet h. l. notionem sacrificialem. Injuria est in unicum sacerdotem N. T. potestatem et dignitatem sacerdotalem coram Deo tribuere ministris S. C.*'

Now we are not here concerned to consider the interpretations of the word ποιεῖν which have been enumerated. That to which attention must be drawn is that all the writers to

¹ *Commentary on Corinthians*, p. 193.

whom reference has been made agree in either ignoring entirely the sacrificial interpretation of *ποιεῖν*, 'offer this,' or dismiss it at once as unworthy of serious discussion.¹ And yet, as is well known, these most sacred words are quoted in the decrees of the Council of Trent as those by which our Lord constituted His Apostles priests of the New Testament, and 'commanded them and their successors in the priesthood to offer, as the Catholic Church has always understood and taught.'²

This fact, even if it stood alone, ought to have been sufficient to prevent writers outside the Roman Communion from treating the interpretation in so cavalier a fashion. But the fact does *not* stand alone. The words are quoted in the Consecration Prayer of nearly every liturgy in such a way as to show that they were understood as the warrant for the Eucharistic Oblation which immediately follows their recitation, and that, therefore, *ποιεῖν* was regarded as having a sacrificial meaning. One or two instances shall be given.

The Roman Liturgy:—

'Hæc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.

'Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta, ejusdem Christi Filii tui Domini nostri tam beatæ passionis, nec non et ab inferis resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ ascensionis: *offerimus* præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis, Hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et Calicem salutis perpetuæ.'³

The Clementine Liturgy:—

'Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν· ὅσάκις γὰρ ἔαν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τούτον, καὶ πίνετε τὸ ποτήριον τούτου, τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐμὸν καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθω. Μνησθέντες τοίνυν τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ

¹ It ought to be stated that Pole's *Synopsis Criticorum* forms an honourable exception, as there the sacrificial view is not merely mentioned, but arguments are brought against it. We do not think that the arguments are of any great force as against the Sacrificial interpretation, rightly understood; but still an honest attempt is made to meet the view in question, which is more than can be said of the work of the later commentators to whom we have referred.

² *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, Session XXII. cap. i.; cf. Canon ii.: 'Si quis dixerit, illis verbis: Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Christum non instituisse Apostolos Sacerdotes; aut non ordinasse, ut ipsi, alique sacerdotes offerrent Corpus et Sanguinem suum; anathema sit.' We are, of course, aware that some Romanist divines have denied the fact that the Canon implies the sacrificial interpretation of *ποιεῖν*, but it is difficult to see how any other explanation makes even tolerable sense.

³ Still clearer perhaps in the language of the Ambrosian Canon. See Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 334.

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θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, καὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἐπανόδου, καὶ τῆς μελλούσης αὐτοῦ δευτέρας παρουσίας, ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστω κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, προσφερόμεν σοι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν, τὸν ἄρτον τούτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι δι' αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἐστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου, καὶ ἱερατεῦν σοι.¹

We give in the note reference to a number of other liturgies where similar language is used.² The Liturgies are sometimes quoted (as by Dr. Ince³) as witnesses *against* the sacrificial interpretation, but we contend that the passages referred to prove that the words *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε* κ.τ.λ. have always been taken by the Church as those which empowered her to offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The connexion of the definite oblation with the definite command points to this interpretation, and justifies the appeal to the Liturgies as early witnesses for giving *ποιεῖν* a sacrificial sense. Why do we *therefore* offer, except because our Lord instituted a sacrifice? The 'therefore' of the Liturgies is meaningless unless a command to offer has been previously recited.⁴ Those who deny the sacrificial reference of the word seem to us involved in a hopeless dilemma. It is confessed that *ποιεῖν* can bear a sacrificial meaning, but we are told that this is only so when 'the context puts as it were a badge upon it.'⁵ Further, it is confessed that nothing but the blindest prejudice can deny that from the very first the Eucharist was regarded by the Church as in some sense a sacrifice. Now, whence did the Church derive this view of the rite? She must have been led to it either (1) because our Lord used words which implied that it was a sacrifice, in which case *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε* must be *unambiguous* and mean 'offer this'; or (2) because the circumstances and surroundings suggested the idea to her. But in this case, if the circumstances and surroundings are sacri-

¹ Hammond, p. 17.

² Liturgy of S. James (Hammond, p. 41), Syriac S. James (H. p. 70), Lit. S. Basil (H. p. 112), S. Mark (H. p. 187), The Armenian Lit. (H. p. 153), Coptic S. Basil (H. p. 211), The Ethiopic Lit. (H. p. 235, 258).

³ In the course of an interesting controversy with the Rev. H. R. Bramley with regard to the primitive interpretation of *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε*. The references to the Liturgies occur in Dr. Ince's 'Second Letter,' while in Mr. Bramley's 'Second Letter' some important passages from Greek writers are quoted in favour of the sacrificial interpretation, including those from Justin Martyr, to which we refer below.

⁴ Dr. Ince, who quotes several formulæ of institution as *against* the sacrificial interpretation, in every case stops short, and fails to give the appended clause 'we *therefore* offer.'

⁵ Marriott's *Treatise on the Eucharist*, quoted in Mr. Meyrick's *Doctrine of the Holy Communion*, p. 67, a work to which we have not further referred in this paper, as it was sufficiently dealt with in our last number.

ficial, this is all that is needed to give the *ambiguous ποιεῖν* the force which it is confessed to be capable of bearing, viz. 'offer.' The context immediately 'puts a badge upon it,' and that badge is sacrificial. We do not see that any other explanation of the origin of the sacrificial view of the Eucharist is forthcoming. Either then *ποιεῖτε* seemed perfectly unambiguous and meant 'offer,' or if ambiguous, its meaning was fixed by the context and surroundings which stamped it as sacrificial. It will not be forgotten that Bishop Lightfoot appealed to these same Liturgies when pleading for the rendering 'Deliver us from the evil one' in the Lord's Prayer. If it was legitimate to appeal to their interpretation of the ambiguous phrase *ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*, it is surely equally legitimate to use their witness in interpretation of the equally ambiguous *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε*.¹ At least they show us that it was not unnatural to the Greek Church to connect the idea of *offering* with the words. We shall, however, perhaps be told that the date of the Liturgies is uncertain, and that they are not sufficiently near to the first century to furnish us with a sure guide to the meaning of the words. Is there, then, anything which will show us how the expression was understood by those who spoke and wrote in Greek as their own language in the first ages of the Church? If we can discover how the word was interpreted by the Christians of the post-Apostolic age, it must be admitted by all that a powerful argument is adduced for one or other translation. What the word *ποιεῖν* meant in this connexion to Justin Martyr about the fifth decade of the second century it probably meant to S. Paul in the latter half of the first; and what it meant to S. Paul it certainly meant to our Blessed Lord. Now there are two passages of the Dialogue with Trypho, in which Justin Martyr refers to the institution of the Holy Communion in such terms as to furnish a guide to his way of understanding *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε*. The language used by him makes it an absolute certainty that he took *ποιεῖν* to mean, not 'do' or 'eat'

¹ It must be remembered that *ποιεῖν* is frequently used in the LXX for the Hebrew *עשה* in the sense of *offer*. A valuable list of such passages is printed as an appendix to Bishop Hamilton's famous charge (p. 99 of the reprint). They are too numerous to transcribe. The following, however, will be sufficient to refer to: Exod. xxix. 36, 39, 41; Lev. ix. 7, 22; xiv. 30; xv. 30; cf. Sadler, *Church Doctrine, Bible Truth*, p. 204. The Syriac in S. Luke xxii. 19 is equally capable with the Greek of the rendering 'offer.' The word *עשה* being used like the Hebrew *עשה*; see e.g. Ps. lxxvi. 15: 'I will offer bullocks and goats; Heb. עשה; Syr. *עשה*; LXX. *ποιεῖν*. Cf. Lev. xxii. 24; 1 Kings xviii. 23, 25, 26, &c.

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or 'break' or 'distribute' or 'give thanks,' but simply 'offer.' And yet we have been unable to discover a reference to either of these passages in a single commentary out of the many to which we have referred!¹

The passages in question are the following :—

C. xli. Καὶ ἡ σεμιδάλειος δὲ προσφορά, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἔλεγον, ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν καθαριζομένων ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας προσφέρεσθαι παραδοθεῖσα, τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ὃν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους οὗ ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν καθαυρομένων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ πάσης ποιηρίας ἀνθρώπων, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν παρέδωκε ποιεῖν, κ.τ.λ. [obs. immediately afterwards Justin goes on to quote Malachi i. 11 as a prophecy of the Christian Sacrifice].

C. lxx. ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ λέγει ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προφητείᾳ [scil. Isaiah xxxiii. 13-19] περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου, ὃν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς ποιεῖν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ σεσωματωμένου αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτὸν, δι' οὗ καὶ παθητὸς γέγονε, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, ὃ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν εὐχαριστοῦντας ποιεῖν φαίνεται.²

Surely any plain man who reads these passages without prejudice must candidly confess that Justin understood *ποιεῖν* as 'offer'? And if to him, writing in the middle of the second century, it meant 'offer,' does there not arise a very strong argument in favour of this rendering as the true one? It is not the exigencies of controversy which drive him to give the word this meaning. He does not defend it as if it was a novelty, or an explanation needing to be justified. It is evidently to him the *natural* way of taking the word, and no other interpretation seems to occur to him. For ourselves we cannot but feel that in such a case as this a representative writer of the second century, speaking naturally the tongue of the Gospels, and knowing by familiar usage the character of the language, is a far safer guide to the true meaning of the

¹ Since the above was written Mr. Sadler's *Commentary on S. Luke* (which we notice elsewhere) has been published. And in this we have a commentary in which not only does the sacrificial interpretation meet with as full and decided a recognition as we could wish for, but the passages from Justin Martyr are quoted, and their bearing carefully pointed out. The passages are also quoted by Mr. Bramley (*Second Letter to the Regius Professor of Divinity*, p. 10), and it is curious to see how Dr. Ince endeavours to evade the plain inference from them. While admitting that the passages 'afford undoubted instances of the idiomatic phrases *ἄρτον ποιεῖν*, *τὸ ποτήριον ποιεῖν*, meaning "to offer bread," "to offer the cup," yet he is 'by no means convinced that in these passages Justin is giving his exposition of the actual text, S. Luke x., xii. 19' (*Second Letter to the Rev. H. R. Bramley*, p. 3).

² It is amusing to find that the translation of Justin's Works, in the Ante-Nicene Library, actually renders the word 'eat' and 'drink' in this passage; while in ch. xli. he paraphrases: 'The bread of the Eucharist, the celebration of which our Lord Jesus Christ prescribed.'

word than the most acute English or German commentator of the nineteenth century, writing with all the aids which modern scholarship can afford. At any rate it must be admitted that it is scarcely creditable to our modern commentators that they dismiss so summarily an interpretation which—as Justin's language proves conclusively—appeared the natural one at so early a date.

The great importance of the words just discussed, and the very inadequate treatment which they have generally received, must be our excuse for the length which our examination of them has run. A few more specimens of the way in which early patristic quotations assist us in translation must now be given from the collection before us. S. John iii. 3-5 has been already referred to as having its true meaning fixed by a *consensus patrum*. But a doubt is often felt as to the translation of ἀνωθεν, in verse 3. Are we with many commentators and the margin of the Revised Version to render it 'from above,' or with the text of the Revised Version and many others to translate 'anew'? Plausible reasons are sometimes urged for adopting the former rendering, but they seem to be quite overpowered by the fact that the word was understood by the Early Christians to mean 'anew.' Justin Martyr has a reference to the passage in his First Apology (ch. lxi.),¹ and though his quotation is not exact, yet the *inexactness* is not to be regretted, as it helps to determine the sense which he gave to ἀνωθεν, for instead of ἀνωθεν γεννηθῆναι he substitutes ἀναγεννηθῆναι, thus indicating for us most happily the meaning which he attached to S. John's phrase.² It ought to be added that the importance of this passage has not escaped notice in the same remarkable way as the preceding one. It is referred to by Alford and Wordsworth; and Dr. Westcott, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, recognizes its 'great importance.'

Another interesting example is given by Dr. Salmon in his *Introduction to the New Testament* (p. 89). In S. John xix. 13 we read: 'Ο οὖν Πειλᾶτος ἀκούσας τῶν λόγων τούτων ἤγαγεν ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον, Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθά.

The ordinary way of translating this verse takes ἐκάθισεν as intransitive 'sat'; but Dr. Salmon points out that in Justin, *Apol.* i. 35, there occur the words, καὶ γὰρ, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ προφῆτης, διασύροντες αὐτὸν ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ εἶπον.

¹ For proof that this is a reference to S. John iii. 3, see Dr. Ezra Abbott's *Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, pp. 22-41.

² Cf. Clem. *Hom.*, xi. 26; and the Syriac (Peshito), Memphitic, and old Latin Versions.

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Κρίνει ἡμῖν. This he thinks is a reference to John xix. 13; and if so, Justin must have taken ἐκάθισεν as transitive 'set him on a judgment seat.' We do not give this as certain, but it is of sufficient interest and probability to deserve a wider recognition than it has hitherto met with.

Again: twice over in the New Testament we have the phrase δοκιμάζειν τὰ διαφέροντα (in Rom. ii. 18; Phil. i. 10), which is now generally rendered, 'approve the things that are excellent.'

But the rendering of the Revised Version margin, 'prove the things that differ,' may claim in its behalf the very early authority of Theophilus of Antioch (c. 170), who quotes the words in his treatise *Ad Autolycum*, i. 2, and understands them in this sense. Δοκιμάζοντες τὰ διαφέροντα, ἥτοι φῶς ἢ σκότος, ἢ λευκὸν ἢ μέλαν, ἢ αἰδέες ἢ εὐμορφον, ἢ εὐρυθμον καὶ εὐμετρον, ἢ ἄρρυθμον καὶ ἄμετρον, ἢ ὑπὲρ μέτρον ἢ κολουρον. This passage has escaped the notice of all commentators to whom we have referred, including even Bishop Lightfoot.

One more example shall be given, and that from the earliest of the Fathers. In Romans i. 30 occurs the word *θεοστυγεῖς*, rendered by the Authorized Version 'haters of God,' and by the Revised Version 'hateful to God.' This latter rendering finds much favour at present,¹ and is said to be attested by the *usus loquendi* as the only correct one. But in spite of this it remains that Clement of Rome understood the word in the active sense, and in this he has the support of Theodoret, and of the Pseudo-Clementines (Hom. i. ch. 12).²

The passage in Clement is the following (Ad Cor. i.):—

Ἀπορίψαντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν πᾶσαν ὀδίκιαν καὶ ἀνομίαν πλεονεξίαν ἔρεις κακοηθείας τε καὶ ὅλους ψιθυρισμούς τε καὶ καταλαλιᾶς θεοστυγίαν ὑπερηφανίαν τε καὶ ἀλαζονεῖαν κενοδοξίαν τε καὶ ἀφιλοξενίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ οἱ πρᾶσσοντες στυγητοὶ τῷ θεῷ ὑπάρχουσιν· οὐ μόνον δὲ οἱ πρᾶσσοντες ἀντὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συνενδοκοῦντες αὐτοῖς.

Let anyone put this beside the Epistle to the Romans, and he will find it difficult to resist the conclusion that S. Clement's language is a reminiscence of the Apostle's. And if so, *θεοστυγίαν* must be his paraphrase of *θεοστυγοῦντες*, the word conveying to him the *active* sense, to which, therefore, the *usus loquendi* cannot have been altogether opposed. And when it is added that Clement was a writer who had drunk deeply of the spirit of S. Paul, and had possibly been his

¹ It is adopted by Fritzsche, De Wette, Meyer, Philippi, and in England by Alford, Agar Beet, Moule, and Sanday.

² Chrysostom unfortunately fails to comment on the word.

personal companion, little more is needed to convince us that the Authorized Version was right, and that the Revisers might well have been content with relegating the alternative 'hateful to God' to the margin, instead of dignifying it with a place in the text. Yet it is curious to find that, out of some half-dozen modern commentators who adopt the active sense, Archdeacon Gifford, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, is the only one who refers to the way in which the word was understood by Clement. Godet, who renders it 'détestant Dieu,' appeals to Suidas and Œcumenius, 'deux écrivains plus rapprochés de la langue vivante que nous ne le sommes,' but oddly enough fails to notice the earlier writers whom he might have quoted.

We might add largely to this list of passages, but our object will be gained if we can only draw attention to this line of study, which has certainly not received the notice which it deserves. Dr. Sanday, towards the close of his delightful inaugural lecture 'On the Study of the New Testament: its present Position, and some of its Problems,' sums up a considerable number of *desiderata* in Biblical study, and directs workers to the text as a subject in which they have a golden opportunity.

'We want an army of trained collators dispersed through all the libraries of Europe. It is a misfortune that work of this kind should not at first be remunerative. But I would suggest the formation of a Theological Texts Society, which would collect subscriptions in order to subsidize such undertakings. Prizes might also be offered for distinguished work in *Critica Sacra* in the Theological School. I lay much stress upon this particular subject, not because it is first in dignity, but because it is first in necessity, as a number of other subjects are being kept waiting for it, and also because it is a good subject on which to make a beginning.'¹

We cordially agree with this; only we would put in a plea that the collation of MSS. of Patristic writings might be included in the scheme, and we should like to urge that another 'golden opportunity' may be found in the subject which we have here endeavoured to bring before our readers. A volume on the interpretation of the New Testament in the early Church, which should include a collection of passages from writers of the second and third centuries, showing by their *incidental* allusions as well as express quotations how the language of the New Testament was understood by them, would be no small boon to the Biblical student.

¹ P. 62.

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ART. IV.—BISHOP HALL AND HIS TIMES.

1. *A Life of Joseph Hall, D.D., Bishop of Exeter and Norwich.* By the REV. GEORGE LEWIS. (London, 1886.)
2. *The Works of Bishop Hall.* New Edition, in Twelve Volumes. (Oxford, 1837-9.)

THERE is no name which forms a more convenient peg on which to hang some remarks on that very stormy crisis through which the Church in England passed during the first half of the seventeenth century, than that of Joseph Hall. The names of William Laud and Lancelot Andrewes are, of course, more prominent names in the history of the period, and the men who bore them were greater men; but they are not so suitable for the purpose indicated above, and that for exactly opposite reasons. Laud launches us into too rough waters, Andrewes into too smooth, for the satisfactory conduct of our voyage of discovery. The very name of William Laud provokes us to be combative. We are ready to fly off at a tangent into all sorts of side issues; to vindicate or condemn the man, as the case may be, instead of calmly reviewing his connexion with the history of the times. On the other hand, over the saintly form of Lancelot Andrewes we are ready to join hands with many with whom we should certainly not agree on wider issues. For the gentle Andrewes shrank from all controversy, and especially from all political controversy, which at this period was inextricably mixed up with ecclesiastical. Andrewes, the quaint and exhaustive preacher—Andrewes, the sweet devotional writer—is revered by men who are divided from one another wide as the poles are asunder on many of the crucial questions which came to the front during that eventful crisis. Laud plunges us into unnecessary warfare; Andrewes leads us into delusive peace. But Joseph Hall enables us to keep our spirits calm, and yet not too calm for the object in view. And again, Joseph Hall is in one sense a more representative man than either of the other two; for his character was more directly formed by the circumstances through which the Church passed than theirs was, and thus he is better fitted to point the moral and adorn the tale which a true son of the Church of England would desire to point and adorn.

It seems therefore desirable to embrace the opportunity which the recent publication of a new Life of Bishop Hall

offers to investigate the period, fraught with such momentous consequences, in which his life was passed.

But before entering into the subject, a word of thanks is due to Mr. Lewis, who has given us this biography. Of course, Bishop Hall's works are accessible enough, and as he was the most guileless and limpid of men, he gives us in them the fullest conceivable picture of himself. But as they fill twelve octavo volumes, and are written in the old-fashioned, artificial style of the early part of the seventeenth century (which differs far more from that of the later part of the century than the latter does from that of our own day), they are not likely to be much studied by the general reader, who will not, however, it is hoped, shrink from the task of reading the gist of them as condensed into the one handy volume now before us.

Mr. Lewis's volume does not aim at giving more than a general idea of Bishop Hall's life, works, and times, and he judiciously makes large use of the Bishop's own words. It is not, and does not pretend to be, a literary masterpiece. There is none of the brilliant, elaborate work which we find, for instance, in Dean Church's *Bacon*, or in Mark Pattison's *Casaubon*. There are many slips, which may be pointed out, not in the spirit of unkindness, but in the hope that they may be corrected in the next edition, which will, we trust, soon be called for. In page 6 Hugh Cholmley is called 'prebend of Exeter.' Surely prebend is the name of the office, prebendary of the holder of the office. In page 70 we are referred to the 'Chatham Society,' a mistake for the Chetham Society. In page 87 we are told that in Hall's *Meditations and Vows* there is a 'personal element perfectly trustworthy and reliable.' 'Reliable' is an ugly, ungrammatical word at best. If it means anything it means precisely the same as trustworthy; so here it is mere tautology. There is another instance of tautology in the same page, where the writer speaks of 'eremitish solitariness'; eremitish means solitary. In page 131 is a sentence which, judged by the ordinary rules of grammar, would bear an exactly opposite meaning to that which the writer obviously intends to convey. 'He (Hall) would not have been a silent spectator of the strife between his royal master, aided by the gifted and learned Andrewes on the one side, and the no less talented Bellarmine on the other.' The unlearned reader might be apt to suppose that the royal master was aided by Bellarmine. Perhaps it may be hyper-critical to find fault with Mr. Lewis's designation of King Henry IV.'s Jesuit confessor, Père Côtton, as simple 'Cotton,' because it was the

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name by which Bishop Hall himself terms him (p. 136); but it rather gives one the opinion that Mr. Lewis only knew Father Côtton from his hero's mention of him. In page 200 Mr. Lewis tells us that 'they fashioned the name of Jacobus Arminius into an *'epigram,'* and made him *vani orbis amicus*': 'epigram' is an obvious mistake for 'anagram.' But perhaps the strangest mistake of all in an Oxford graduate is in page 366, where Dr. Reynolds is called 'the influential President of Christ Church College, Oxford.' Now we are accustomed to hear of 'Christ Church College' in the Methodist biographies of John Wesley, though even there not of the 'president' thereof; but we should hardly have expected such a description from a B.A. of Balliol College.

However, it is a more grateful task to call attention to the undoubted usefulness of this little volume. The reader may safely follow the author's guidance in estimating the work and character of Bishop Hall. He writes as a sound but moderate Churchman, and with most of his judgments we can cordially agree. He is not biased by the proverbial partiality of biographers, and neither palliates nor slurs over the weak points of his hero. On the other hand, he is quite enough in sympathy with his subject to enable him to present a pleasing picture, and not a hostile criticism. His selections from the Bishop's own writings to illustrate each point seem to us to be judicious. In fact, the reader who masters this little work will have a fair and adequate idea of what Bishop Hall was. Let us now turn from the biographer to his subject.

Joseph Hall was born at Ashby-de-la-Zouch on July 1, 1574. His father was agent to the Earl of Huntingdon, the President of the North, and, like his chief, a man with a strong sense of religion. His mother, who exercised a great influence over him, was a very pious woman of the Puritan type. Hall describes her as 'a woman of that rare sanctity that, were it not for my interest in nature, I durst say that neither Aleth, the mother of that just Honour of Clairval, nor Monica, nor any other of those pious matrons antiently famous for devotion, need to disdain her admittance to comparison.' She took for her spiritual adviser the incumbent of the parish, Mr. Anthony Gilby, a strong Calvinist, 'one of the godfathers of the Geneva Discipline, who, after his peregrinations in Germany and Geneva, undertook for that new-born infant at an English font.' This good man exercised so great an influence over his flock in general, as well as over the pious Mrs. Hall and her young son Joseph in particular, that he is said to have 'lived at Ashby as great as a bishop.' One

can well understand that Mr. Gilby would exercise his spiritual authority in a lordly fashion; for those who were most clamorous against 'sacerdotal assumption' were in the habit of bearing themselves towards their flocks most royally;—the Puritan's little finger was frequently heavier than the Sacerdotalist's loins in the matter of spiritual discipline. Thus, as Mr. Lewis rightly observes, 'Hall may be said to have almost imbibed Calvinism with his mother's milk.' Mr. Gilby was an able and learned, as well as a good man, and would doubtless have great influence over the pious and impressible boy. Hall was educated at the Grammar School of his native town, and after some difficulties, into the details of which we need not enter, became a member of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. The choice of this college was probably due to Mr. Gilby, whose son was fellow and tutor there. Emmanuel College had just been founded by Sir Walter Mildmay, for the express object of fostering and developing Puritanism.

"Sir Walter," said Queen Elizabeth to the founder, "I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation." "No, Madam," replied Mildmay, significantly; "far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws. But I have set an acorn which, when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof." (P. 31.)

But if man did not know, he might give a shrewd guess as to what the fruits would be. Everything at Emmanuel was designed to encourage Puritan sentiments. The college was erected on the site of a house once occupied by Preaching Friars.

'And the manner in which the ancient buildings were adapted to the purpose seems designed to express the animus of the foundation. The chapel was converted into the hall and parlour; the fireplace round which the fellows sat being on the spot once occupied by the high altar. The refectory was turned into a chapel, facing, as was observed, north and south.' (P. 30.)

All the internal arrangements of Emmanuel were of a piece with its surroundings. 'The college set academic usage at defiance, using its own form of religious service, and discarding surplices and hoods, both at morning and evening prayer, and at the celebration of the Lord's Supper.' If there be even a grain of truth in the following account of the way in which this sacred rite was celebrated, the churchmanship of Hall at this early period must indeed have been imperilled.

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The first master of Emmanuel, under whose jurisdiction Hall was, was Laurence Chaderton, one of the Puritan divines at the Hampton Court Conference. He took the greatest interest in, and was most kind to, Joseph Hall. In fact, Hall was most kindly treated at Emmanuel altogether, and always spoke of it in the most enthusiastic terms. It was 'a society of such comely order, strict government, wise laws, religious care;' 'if it had any equals, I daresay had none beyond it, for good order, studious carriage, strict government, austere piety;' 'in which,' he adds, 'I spent six or seven years more [as fellow after he had taken his degree], with such contentment as the rest of my life hath in vain striven to yield' (p. 40). One can well believe that this was the case. Everything went prosperously with him at Cambridge; he was elected scholar of his college, and then Fellow, though there appeared to be no vacancy for his county, and then Rhetoric Lecturer in the public schools, where his lectures were numerous attended and highly appreciated. He then entered holy orders. 'The honour whereof,' he says, 'having once attained, I was no niggard of the talent which my God had entrusted to me, preaching as often as occasion was offered, both in country villages abroad and at home in the most awful auditory of the university' (p. 41). He was noted at Cambridge as a wit, was admitted to the best society, and made many friends. At the same time he had abundance of leisure for study, and of course would be breathing an atmosphere congenial to those literary pursuits which he loved. Well might he write:—

'Mongst all these stirs of discontented strife
Oh! let me lead an academic life,' &c.

In fact, the dozen or so years which he spent at Cambridge were the happiest years of his life, and we have dwelt at some length upon them because it is necessary to emphasize the impressions which he derived from his youth in order to appreciate his after-life. At home and at college he had seen and fully appreciated the best side of Puritanism. His mother and his clergyman at Ashby were really good people, and commended their tenets to him by the consistency of their lives. The Puritan master of Emmanuel was always his very good friend; in fact, Cambridge generally, which was represented to him by the puritan Emmanuel, was his true Alma Mater. He appears to have been more than satisfied with, deeply

thankful for, his home and college training. His case was quite different from that of his contemporary, Isaac Casaubon. There is no trace whatever of any unsettlement of views; he took Calvin for his master, studied his works deeply, and never lost his admiration for him to the end of his life.

It will thus be seen how everything tended to commend Puritanism to Hall, and in fact did commend it, in the most impressive years of his life. And it should be borne in mind that at this period the two great religious forces in England were undoubtedly Puritanism on the one side, and Romanism on the other; Anglicanism was simply nowhere. It is a bold thing to write, for it seems to be part of an Englishman's creed to extol good Queen Bess, especially as a patroness of the Church of England; but it seems to us that a few more years of such patronage would have improved the Church of England off the face of the earth. But this is a digression. As a matter of fact, Puritanism and Romanism *were* the two great forces in Hall's early days; Puritanism was the more prominent of the two, but Romanism was at least as strong, though a more secret and subtle agency. Hall was brought up with the utmost dread of Romanism in every shape, and this dread would drive him all the closer into the arms of Puritanism.

All this ought to be carefully taken into account by those who would form a right estimate of his character and career. The changes of opinion through which he passed from a moderate Puritan into a moderate but very sound High Churchman were changes which were wrought by the sheer force of conviction acting upon a singularly honest, clear-thinking, and evenly-balanced mind. All his antecedents would be in favour of Puritanism, and the wonder is, not that he retained some Puritanical, or at least some Calvinistic, leanings to the last, but that he drifted so far away from his old moorings into true churchmanship as he actually did. In the happy Cambridge days he wrote his *Satires*, which will come before us again in connexion with his literary work generally, which will be best discussed apart from his life.

To return to the latter subject. In 1601 Hall was presented to the country living of Halsted or Hawstead, 'in that sweet and civil county of Suffolk, near to St. Edmond's Bury.' Just before this he all but accepted the headmastership of the new school at Tiverton, founded by Blundel in 1599. The circumstances of the offer show how highly Hall was appreciated at Cambridge. Chief Justice Popham, in whose hands the patronage was placed, applied to the master of Emmanuel 'to commend some able, learned, and discreet governor, such

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as should not need so much as his oversight.' Dr. Chaderton recommended Hall, assuring him 'of no small advantages and no great toil, since it was intended the main load of the work should lie upon other shoulders.' Hall was in some doubt whether to accept Tiverton or Halsted; but at last, to the disappointment of his good friend, the master, decided upon the latter, saying to Dr. Chaderton: 'Sir, methinks God pulls me by the sleeve, and tells me it is His will I should rather go to the east than to the west.' In 1603 he married the daughter of Mr. George Winniff of Bretenham, and was most happy in his choice, 'enjoying the comfortable society of that meet help' (when he first saw her she struck him as being 'a comely and modest gentlewoman') 'for the space of forty-nine years.' It was probably his home experience which led him to write so warmly as he did on the *Honour of a Married Clergy*. His eldest son, Robert, was born in 1605.

The even tenour of Hall's life at Halsted was broken by a journey to the Continent, in the train of Sir Edmund Bacon, the brother of his patroness, Lady Drury. They travelled through Belgium to Spa, and Hall utilized his opportunities for learning more about the Roman Church. His increased knowledge only confirmed his extreme antipathy to that communion. It is unnecessary to describe at length his life at Halsted, which was simply that of a good country parson. He preached three sermons every week and attended diligently to his pastoral duties, at the same time finding abundant leisure for study. Hall was an omnivorous reader and a voluminous writer, and it was no doubt with perfect sincerity that in after times, when he was launched into the troubled sea of public life, he often expressed his longing to be back in the quiet harbour of Halsted or Waltham, where he could follow unmolested his favourite pursuits.

But it was, of course, not to be expected that a man who had made his mark at the University, who was well known as a striking preacher, a powerful writer, and a man of blameless morals and indefatigable industry, should be allowed to remain all his life long in the obscurity of a country parsonage. His first step towards emerging from this obscurity was taken when he was appointed, in 1608, chaplain to the heir to the throne, Henry, Prince of Wales, whose special favourite he soon became. Contact with the Prince would not at all tend to diminish his Puritan tendencies; for the theological views of the young prince, so far as a boy in his teens can be said to have any theological views, were in the direction of Puritanism. Just about the same time he received from Lord Denny, after-

wards Earl of Norwich, the offer of the living of Waltham, which he was tempted to accept, because his patron at Halsted, Sir Robert Drury, kept back some of his dues. 'My means,' he says, 'were but short at Halsted; yet such as I oft professed, if my then patron would have added but one ten pounds by year, which I held to be the value of my detained due, I should never have removed.' Hall held the living of Waltham for twenty-two years, and for the greater part of these was resident on his cure. But he was now a public man, and was frequently employed by King James on the public service. The Prince of Wales died in 1612, and Hall preached one of the most pathetic of his sermons at St. James's to the household of his 'sweet young master' previous to its necessary dissolution. King James might have been expected to regard with no favourable eye the favourite of his dead son, for the relations between father and son had not been very cordial. James I., however, with all his faults, was always a steady and discriminating patron of men of learning, and a man so profoundly learned as Hall was, and one connected so closely with the Court, could not escape his notice. He was accordingly taken into the king's favour, and was appointed, during his absence on a public mission in France in the train of Lord Doncaster, Dean of Worcester. He still continued to hold the living of Waltham with the deanery, such pluralism being unhappily not at all contrary to the spirit of the times. This was in 1616. But before this a characteristic episode occurred. He was made Prebendary of Willenhall in the collegiate church of Wolverhampton, in which capacity he nobly fought the battle of the church by successfully carrying through a wearisome Chancery suit, which resulted in restoring to the church some of its lost revenues; 'which work,' he says, 'having once firmly settled in a just pity of the mean provision, if not the destitution, of so many thousand souls, and a desire and care to have them comfortably provided for in the future, I resigned up the said prebend to a worthy preacher, Mr. Lee, who should constantly reside there, and painfully instruct that great and long-neglected people, which he hath hitherto performed with great mutual contentment and happy success' (p. 152). The service he rendered to Wolverhampton has not been allowed to fall into oblivion. A very old friend of the present writer, Archdeacon Iles, formerly rector of S. Peter's, has fixed a tablet in the wall of the church with this inscription (p. 153):

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IN MEMORY OF JOSEPH HALL, D.D., BISHOP OF NORWICH,
 PREBENDARY IN 1612 OF THIS CHURCH,
 RESTORER OF ITS FREEDOM AND PATRIMONY, AND
 CAREFUL SHEPHERD OF ITS GREAT AND LONG-NEGLECTED PEOPLE.
 BORN 1574, DIED 1656.

In 1617 Hall attended King James in his journey to Scotland for the purpose of establishing the English Church system in that country. The mere fact that Hall was chosen for this purpose shows in what high estimation he was held. The other two chaplains were Laud and Andrewes, unquestionably the two strongest churchmen of the day. This journey, though it was a melancholy failure so far as its immediate object was concerned, was of immense importance in the theological development of Hall's character. The ill-advised and disastrous attempt to force not only episcopacy, but all the ritual of the English Church, upon a reluctant people, certainly owes none of its failure to Hall. If any man could have thrown oil upon the troubled waters, he would have been the man to do it; but the task was beyond the power of any mortal man. The whole story would be ludicrous if it were not, from a Churchman's point of view, so melancholy an illustration of the way how *not* to do it. In the first place, the Scotch were not prepared, and could not reasonably be expected to be prepared, for the change of front in the king himself, their own countryman. He had left them a fervid Presbyterian; he came back a fervid Episcopalian, accompanied by a cargo of organs, gilded statues of the Evangelists and Apostles, and other abominations—surplices, choristers, what not. The national, as well as the religious, susceptibilities of the Scotch were wounded. Why was the *English Service Book* to be forced upon them? There was a Scotch Church—that is, as they were, and are, pleased to term it, a Scotch Episcopal Church—as well as an English Church. But it is needless to pursue the sad story; let us rather observe the effect this journey had upon Hall. It led him to study ritual, which he confesses he had neglected to study before—that is, ritual according to the use of the Anglo-Catholic Church, not ritual according to the use of Emmanuel College—and the result was that he came out from the study, as a fair and clear mind like his could not fail to come out, a distinct High Churchman, so far as this important point was concerned. He was also thrown into close contact with the two most marked Churchmen of the day, Laud and Andrewes, and there seems to be no question that the former, at any rate, influenced him greatly.

Very soon after his return from Scotland Hall was appointed by King James one of the English representatives at the Synod of Dort (1618). His expedition into Holland was on as hopeless a project as that into Scotland. To discuss what Hall calls 'the five busy points' of the Calvinistic controversy is not a task that is likely to lead to any practical result under the most favourable circumstances; but when the discussion is mixed up, as it was at Dort, with political matters, the attempt is still more hopeless. One characteristic event, however, took place on this journey which must be noticed. The English representatives arrived before the Arminians appeared upon the scene. By way of improving the interval, the president begged the delegates from abroad to preach some Latin sermons for the edification of the assembled Calvinists. The other English representatives shrank from the task for fear of giving offence; but Hall eagerly embraced the opportunity to recommend *more suo* moderation and healing measures. He wound up his sermon with this eloquent peroration:—

'What have we to do with the ill-omened names of Remonstrants, Contraremonstrants, Calvinists, Arminians? We are Christians. We are one body; let us be of one mind. By the awful name of God, by the gentle bosom of our common Mother, by your souls, and by the sacred bowels of Jesus Christ, our Saviour, brethren, I entreat you, be at peace. So lay aside all prejudice and party feeling, that we may be happily united in the enjoyment of the common truth.' (P. 207.)

The sermon gave great satisfaction, and he received the public thanks of the Synod; but it must be confessed that the hearers do not seem to have taken much heed of the preacher's wise and Christian counsel. On the contrary, they appear to have treated the Remonstrants, when they arrived, most unfairly. Hall, however, had no share in this treatment. He was taken ill, and obliged to retire home in the middle of the synod, to the great regret of the members, who were 'particularly unwilling to spare Mr. Dean, of whom they take particular note.' 'Nor,' says Mr. Lewis, 'were the States behind the Synod in showing respect. Their deputies, after a very respectful compliment,' sent to him by Daniel Heinsius, visited Hall, and after a noble acknowledgment of more good service than he durst own, dismissed him with an 'honourable retribution,' and sent after him a 'rich medal of gold.' This medal is now in the possession of Emmanuel College.

The next few years in Hall's life passed without any particular incident. In 1624 he refused the bishopric of Gloucester; in 1627 he accepted the bishopric of Exeter; and

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there he spent the next fourteen years. One thinks and speaks of Joseph Hall as Bishop of Norwich; but, in point of fact, when he became Bishop of Norwich, a bishop's office had become so shorn of its power that he had but little opportunity of showing what sort of a bishop he was in that see. It was at Exeter that he was bishop in deed as well as in name, and he stamped his influence very deeply upon that diocese. At first he met with considerable difficulties. In those hot times the majority were what would now be called 'extreme men' on one side or the other, and Hall incurred the suspicion, and indeed the hostility, of both sides. By extreme men on the one side he was thought a Puritan, by those on the other a Romaniser. As to the former, he says:

'I entered upon that place (Exeter) not without much prejudice and suspicion on some hands; for some that sat at the stern of the Church, had me in great jealousy for too much favour of Puritanism. I soon had intelligence who were set over me for espials. My ways were curiously observed and scanned. However, I took the resolution to follow those courses which might most conduce to the peace and happiness of my new and weighty charge.' (P. 278.)

As to the latter charge, it could hardly fail to be laid against one who was known to be, in a sense, the *protégé* of Laud. It is pretty certain that it was through Laud that he was appointed to the see of Exeter; for when the Archbishop at his trial was taxed with giving preferment 'only to such men as were for ceremonies, popery, and Arminianism' he replied 'that it was known he preferred Hall to Exeter.' There is no doubt also that Laud exercised more and more influence over him as years went on; Dean Hook speaks of Hall's 'devoted friendship' for Laud, and, no doubt, with good reason; but Hall might truly have said, 'Amicus Laudius, magis amica veritas.' On each of Laud's schemes he exercised his own clear judgment, and adopted them or not, as they commended themselves to it. He insisted strongly upon the duty of catechising, instead of constant preaching; he encouraged the beautifying of churches; he was a warm supporter of Laud in having 'the communion tables placed altar-wise;' he inclined to decidedly high views on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, admitting that nothing was more ordinary with the Fathers than to call God's table an altar, the holy elements an oblation, the act of celebration an immolation, the actor a priest, and taught clearly a Real, though not a corporeal, Presence. Though an enemy to forced sacramental confession, he held that 'within due bounds confession was of singular use and behoof,' 'nothing could be more use-

ful, more sovereign,' 'and the neglect thereof certainly not a little disadvantageous to the souls of many good Christians.' He held a lofty estimate of ministerial authority, declaring indignantly that—

'If an error should arise in the Church, it is not for every unlearned tradesman to cast away his yard-wand and take up his pen. Wherefore serve Universities if every blue apron may at his pleasure turn licentiate of divinity, and talk of theological questions which he understands not, as if they were to be measured by his ell?' (P. 297.)

And lest it should be thought that it was only their want of learning that he objected to, we may quote another passage which points more directly to ministerial authority:—

'It was well noted by one, that the good father of the Prodigal, though he might himself have brought forth the prime robe, or have led his son into his wardrobe to take it, yet commands his servants to bring it forth—*proferte stolam*—because he would have his son beholden to his servants, for their glory. It is a bold word, but a true one, "Ye shall never wear His long white robe, unless His servants, your ministers, bring it and put it on. He that can save you without us will not save you, but by us. He hath not tied Himself to means, man He hath. He could create you immediately by Himself, but He will have you begotten by the immortal seed of your spiritual fathers. Woe be to you, therefore, if our word have lost the power of it in you! You have lost your right in heaven. Let us never come there if you can come thither ordinarily without us." (P. 260.)

All this is quite in the Laudian vein. But, on the other hand, he would have nothing to do with the re-introduction of the Book of Sports, being, if not a Sabbatarian, a staunch supporter of the strict observance of the Lord's Day; he distinctly declined to go the full length of suppressing indiscriminately all lecturers, thereby incurring much obloquy. He would not tender the famous 'et cetera oath' to any minister in his diocese; he never became an Arminian, though his Calvinism became more and more moderate and guarded; in fact, he supported Laud's measures and opinions only so far as they commended themselves to his conscience; and it is greatly to the credit of the Archbishop, who has so often been accused of arbitrariness, that though he quite failed to make Hall a mere tool in his hands (if indeed he ever tried to do so), he reported, after visiting the diocese in 1634:—

'For Exeter, where, according to many complaints that had been made here above, I might have expected many things out of order, I must do my lord the Bishop this right, that for your Majesty's instructions they have been carefully observed' (p. 302);

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and in 1637:—

‘The Bishop of this diocese (Exon.) assures me that all things are in very good order. And, indeed, I think the diocese is well amended within these few years, his lordship having been very careful, both in his visitations and otherwise’ (*ibid.*).

In the famous events of the year 1641 Hall took a prominent part. He made an admirable speech against the bill for depriving the bishops of their votes in the House of Lords, and succeeded in getting a petition against the bill from the diocese of Exeter, with 8,000 signatures. On his return to his diocese from the exciting events in London, he was met on his way by a multitude who gave him a hearty welcome back. He had earlier in the year published his *Humble Remonstrance for Liturgy and Episcopacy*; King Charles was so pleased with the work that he translated the author from the see of Exeter to that of Norwich; but an event occurred which prevented him from at once taking possession of his new see.

In the closing days of 1641 Bishop Hall was committed to the Tower, in company with eleven other prelates, on the absurd charge of high treason. Of course this charge could not be substantiated; and on his release he repaired at once to his new diocese, which was a stronghold of Puritanism. He was well received there, possibly because he was thought more friendly to the Puritans than most of the bishops, and for about two years exercised his episcopal functions without much molestation. But in March 1643, the Ordinance of Sequestration was passed by the parliament, and Hall, having gone through a series of hardships which he has admirably described in his *Hard Measure*, retired to the little village of Higham, where he passed the last thirteen years of his life. Here he employed his time partly in clerical and, as far as he possibly could, episcopal work, partly in writing some of his most valuable works, and partly in correspondence with friends; among them, two kindred spirits, companions in misfortune, and of as great, if not greater eminence than Hall himself, Henry Usher and Henry Hammond, are conspicuous. His faithful wife and several of his children went to their rest before him; and on September 8, 1656, his own call came. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Whitefoot (who had been instituted by Hall himself to the rectory of Higham so late as 1652). It is, as Mr. Lewis truly remarks, peculiarly valuable as being the testimony of an eye-witness to the closing days of the good old man. ‘Joseph

VOL. XXII.—NO. XLIV.

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Hall olim humilis ecclesiæ servus' is the simple inscription on his tomb, and describes his character well. He was, as was truly observed, 'a prelate as loving and as much beloved as any man of his order;' but his object as a preacher, writer, parish-priest, prelate, was not to gain popularity, but to be a humble servant of the Church, and of the Church's Master. Few men have left behind them a more stainless memory, and few have attained a high position so absolutely without self-seeking.

Before turning from Bishop Hall's life to his writings, which of course are the chief cause why his name has become immortal, one point requires explanation. Mr. Lewis lays great stress upon Hall's 'moderation,' and very properly so, because his moderation was one of his most distinguishing features. But we must clearly understand what the term moderation, when applied to him, meant. It did *not* mean indifferentism; through all the phases, or, let us rather say, the development, of his views, we can trace the most intense earnestness; he was ever ready to contend for what he believed to be the truth, even to the death. It did *not* mean vagueness of conception; all that he believed, he believed clearly and definitely. And least of all did it mean trimming his sails to meet the popular breeze; on the contrary, his churchmanship became stronger and stronger *pari passu* with the increase of the opposition to the Church. Puritanism was a strong moral force in Hall's youth, and it affected him deeply; it was a rampant political force in his old age, and the more powerful it became, the further he drifted away from it. Hall had always the courage of his opinions; and his opinions frequently led him in a different way from that in which his temporal interests seemed to lie.

We could not find a better description of what Bishop Hall's moderation really was than Mr. Matthew Arnold's version of the term τὸ ἐπιεικές, 'sweet reasonableness.' His mind was always open to conviction, but you *had* to convince him, point by point. He was a man of peace, and loved peace above all things,—except one, truth. 'The wisdom that is from above is *first* pure, then peaceable'; that was always the order in Bishop Hall's mind. Again, his moderation was always consistent with a righteous indignation; it did not render him flat and tame. Both his preaching and his writings were full of fire and vigour; this indeed constitutes one of their chief excellences. They are not of that character which is warranted to offend—and, therefore, to affect—nobody. They both offended and affected many. On

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the other hand his moderation did not altogether raise him above the spirit of his times. He was by no means inclined to dispense with force, and trust to pure argument. Both Papists and Brownists, 'like the Canaanites, were pricks and thorns, and therefore both by mulcts and banishments should be brought either to yield or avoid.' James I. had been solicited to grant toleration, but, says Hall complacently, 'his Christian heart held that toleration un-Christian and intolerable.' In fact, the meanest corner was too good for so mutinous a generation as the Brownists; and in his *Christian Moderation*, of all books in the world, he praises 'kind Master Calvin' who 'did well approve himself to God's Church, in bringing Servetus to the stake at Geneva.'

Joseph Hall might always have said of himself:

'Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri;'

but the three men who affected him most were John Calvin, his early admiration for whom he never lost, William Laud, whose indomitable will always made itself felt by those with whom he was brought into intimacy, and John Overall, a man whose great influence generally has perhaps scarcely been appreciated at its full worth. It is an odd trio to group together; but the undoubted fact that all three did deeply affect Hall, only shows the more clearly how ready he was to embrace truth wherever he thought he had found it.

We have left ourselves but little space to touch upon Hall's writings; but what has been already said about his life and character will enable the reader to anticipate much which would otherwise require to be pointed out. Joseph Hall was a singularly versatile writer, and won his spurs in many fields of literature. His first flights were into the region of poetry, and if this were a purely literary sketch, his *Satires* and other poetical pieces would demand a considerable space. He claims for himself the honour of being the first English satirist.

'I first adventure, with foolhardy might,
To tread the steps of perilous despite;
I first adventure; follow me who list
And be the second English satirist.'

This claim was vehemently contested, but the work was at any rate so novel that it raised alarm, and was condemned by the High Commission Court, instigated by Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Bancroft, to the flames. The first three books were entitled *Toothless Satires*, and the next three *Biting*

Satires; but though the latter may have been more incisive, the author seems to us to have shown his teeth in both. The whole six were gathered together under the title of *Virgidemiarum Libri Sex*. Into their history and the conflicting opinions expressed about them we need not enter. Let it suffice to take one sample which gives a curious illustration of the ecclesiastical customs of the day, and reminds us of a similar description by Oldham nearly a century later.

'A gentle squire would gladly entertaîne
 Into his house some trencher-chaplain; ;
 Some willing man, that might instruct his sons,
 And that would stand to good conditions.
 First, that he lie upon the truckle-bed,
 While his young maister lieth o'er his head.
 Second, that he do, on no default,
 Ever presume to sit above the salt.
 Third, that he never change his trencher twice,
 Fourth, that he use all common courtesies ;
 Sit bare at meales, and one halfe rise and wait
 Last, that he never his young maister beat
 But he must aske his mother to define
 How manie jerkes she would his breech should line.
 All these observ'd, he could contented bee,
 To give five markes and winter liverie' (*Bk. ii. Sat. 6*).

Hall, as a poet, need detain us no longer; his *Few Psalms Metaphrased* certainly form no exception to the rule that the Psalmist cannot successfully be turned into English rhyme, and the rest of his little pieces were mere bye-works. The same may be said of his *Mundus alter et idem* and *Characteristics of Virtues and Vice*, which were a sort of satires in prose.

Let us turn to that branch of composition which, above all others, perhaps, has rendered Hall's name famous—his devotional works. They were written for the most part at the beginning and at the end of his career, and there is a marked difference discernible between those which belong to the first and those which belong to the last period. In both, the writer breathes forth the spirit of earnest piety and absolute trust in God; but while the former clearly look forward with hopefulness to a course upon earth, the latter bear upon the face of them the signs of one whose course on earth was ended, and whose hopes and thoughts were entirely fixed on eternity. A specimen of each will best illustrate what is meant. The following is from his *Three Centuries of Meditations and Vows*, the first of his devotional works, published very soon after he

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came to Halsted, and when he had not reached the age of thirty years :—

‘Many Christians do greatly wrong themselves, with a dull and heavy kind of sullenness ; who, not suffering themselves to delight in any worldly thing, are thereupon oftentimes so heartless that they delight in nothing. These men, like to careless guests, when they are invited to an excellent banquet, lose their dainties for want of a stomach, and lose their stomach for want of exercise. A good conscience keeps always good cheer : he cannot chuse but fare well that hath it ; unless he lose his appetite, with neglect and slothfulness. It is a shame for us Christians, not to find as much joy in God, as worldlings do in their forced merriments, and lewd wretches in the practice of their sins’ (*Third Century*, vii.).

This is the general tenour of the *Three Centuries* (i.e. 300 short meditations). Now mark the difference of tone in the following, taken from his *Soliloquies*, written in his old age :—

‘Every creature naturally affects a return to the original, whence it first came. The pilgrim, though faring well abroad, yet hath a longing homeward ; fountains and rivers run back, with what speed they may, to the sea, whence they were derived : all compound bodies return to their first elements ; the vapours rising up from the earth and waters, and condensed into clouds, fall down again to the same earth whence they were exhaled ; this body, that we bear about us, returns at last to that dust whereof it was framed. And why then, O my soul, dost not thou earnestly desire to return home to the God that made thee ? Thou knowest thy original is heavenly ; why are not thy affections so ? What canst thou find here below, worthy to either withdraw or detain thee from those heavenly mansions ? Thou art here in a region of sin, of misery and death ; glory waits for thee above. Fly, then, O my soul, fly home to that blessed immortality, not as yet in thy dissolution ; for which thou must wait on the pleasure of thy dear Redeemer ; yet in thy thoughts, in thy desires and affections, &c.’ (*Solil.* lxx.).

The mere titles of Hall’s later devotional works show the bent of his mind when he wrote them : *The Invisible World*, *The Soul’s Farewell to Earth*, *The Balm of Gilead*, or *The Comforter*, *Songs in the Night*, &c. The catalogue of all this class, earlier and later, would in itself fill a page ; for Hall’s plan was to write short and numerous works ; he felt that on this subject, of all subjects, ‘a great book is a great evil,’ or, at least, a great hindrance to its being read. As this is not a bibliography, the reader must be spared the full list, particularly as there were other fields of literature on which Hall expatiated.

For instance, there are what may be called either his practical or his exegetical works, for they partake of the nature of

both. Under this head would fall his *Contemplations*, which fill two octavo volumes, and are a sort of practical exposition of many of the leading incidents in the Old and New Testaments; his paraphrases of *Hard Texts*, which fill one large volume; but neither of these works, though they cost the writer a vast amount of time and labour, can be placed on at all the same level with his purely devotional works.

Again, Hall had the courage, long after he had passed the allotted age of man (1650), to appear in quite a new phase, viz., as a casuist. The mere rarity of this species of writing in the Anglican Church would draw attention to Hall's attempts; but in themselves they are exceedingly good, showing both shrewdness and sound Christian judgment, and are quite worthy to be classed with the admirable casuistical treatises of Bishop Sanderson and Bishop Barlow.

Least of all must we omit to notice Hall's polemical works. His numerous treatises against the Romanists on the one side and the sectaries on the other are quite masterpieces in their way. It is probably the former, combined with his leaning towards Calvinism, which have rendered him so great a favourite with the Evangelical school; hence we have the odd spectacle of a decided High Churchman edited—and very well edited too—by a prominent leader of the Low Churchmen, the excellent Josiah Pratt. If we had to select one out of so many works, all of which are admirable, it would perhaps be *The Old Religion*, in which Hall deals in a most exhaustive and masterly way with the important question, which is the old religion—that of the Church of Rome as she now stands, or that of the Church of England as *she* now stands?

On the other side, Hall by his defence of Episcopacy, a Liturgy, and other points in dispute between Churchmen and Dissenters, raised up, not one, but a combination of five antagonists—the famous 'Smectymnuus'—that is, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow; and also a greater than all five put together, John Milton. The brave old man (he was seventy years old) was quite equal to standing up against them all; the abuse which Smectymnuus, and the still fouler abuse which John Milton heaped upon him, daunted him not; he had the spirit of a lion, no less than the wisdom of a serpent, and the gentleness of a dove. In fact, this phase of his character does not appear to be sufficiently known; and Mr. Lewis hardly brings it out as prominently as he might have done. It is necessary, therefore, to justify the assertion by giving a few specimens of the wonderful fire and vigour which

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characterised his writings. Every cultured man has admired the effectiveness of Cicero's exordium in one of his Catiline orations, where, with the true spirit of an orator, he plunges at once into the middle of his subject, 'Quousque tandem abutere patientiâ nostrâ?' No less effective is Hall's exordium to *Episcopacy by Divine Right* :—

'Good God! what is this that I have lived to hear? That a Bishop, in a Christian Assembly, should renounce his Episcopal Function, and cry mercy for his now-abandoned calling! Brother that was, whoever you be, I must have leave awhile to contest seriously with you. The act was yours; the concernment, the whole Church's. You could not think so foul a deed could escape unquestioned. The world never heard of such a penance; you cannot blame us if we receive it both with wonder and expostulation; and tell you, it had been much better to have been unborn, than to live to give so heinous a scandal to God's Church, and so deep a wound to His holy truth and ordinance. If Tweed, that runs between us, were an ocean, it could not either drown or wash off our interest or your offence.'

The recreant prelate who gave occasion for this scathing protest was Bishop Grahame, of Orkney. And what a grand appeal is this, at the close of the treatise :—

'For you, my northern brethren (for such you shall be when you have done your worst), if there were any foul personal faults found in any of our Church Governors, as there never wanted aspersions where an extermination is intended, alas! why should not your wisdom and charity have taught you to distinguish betwixt the calling and the crime? Were the person vicious, yet the function is holy. Why should God and His cause be stricken because man hath offended; and yet to this day no offence proved? Your Church hath been anciently famous for a holy and memorable Prelacy,' &c., &c.

In fact, one hardly knows which to admire most, the learning, the earnestness, or the wonderful vigour of the whole of this admirable treatise. Another gift which Hall knew how to use with great effect was that of sarcasm. Witness the following passage in his *Apology against the Brownists* :—

'This, your separation, in the nature and causes of it, you say, is no less ancient than the first institution of enmity between the two seeds. You might have gone a little higher, and have said, than our first parents running from God in the garden, or their separation from God by their sin.'

Again—

"As ancient as the Gospel." What! so ancient, and never known till Bolton, Barrow, and Brown! Could it escape all the holy Prophets, Apostles, Doctors of the old, middle, and later world; and

light only upon these, your three patriarchs? Perhaps Novatus or Donatus, those Saints, with their schools, had some little glimpse of it; but this perfection of knowledge is but late and new; so, many rich mines have lain long unknown; and great parts of the world have been discovered by late venturers.'

There is yet another point to be noted in estimating the intellectual resources of Bishop Hall. If he wrote good English, he wrote still better Latin. Treatise after treatise, in a style worthy of Cicero, poured forth from his facile pen. As one reads with astonishment and admiration the exquisitely polished periods, one is inclined to ask, Have we really so much improved in mental culture, as optimists tell us that we have, since the seventeenth century? And is it not a misfortune that what was once the *lingua franca* of all educated Europe has now become, in very truth, a dead language? We must end, as we began, by thanking Mr. Lewis for calling the attention of the public to one whose life, character, and, above all, writings none can study without pleasure and profit.

ART. V.—CUR DEUS HOMO? OR THE PURPOSE OF THE INCARNATION.

1. *S. Anselmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Cur Deus Homo? Libri Duo.* 12mo. (London, 1886.)
2. *The Doctrine of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to mankind and to the Church.* By the late Archdeacon WILBERFORCE. New edition. (London, 1885.)

THE answer of S. Anselm to the inquiry Why was God made Man? illustrates with great force the necessity of a Divine Incarnation in order to an effective Redemption. He assumes that God must needs carry out His purpose and perfect His work, commenced in the creation of man; and argues that as this requires a previous satisfaction due from man to God, which man ought to make but God only can make, therefore the Incarnation of our Lord was planned of Adam's race and of a virgin mother, that the God-man might make it, and merit an eternal reward by His obedience. And he establishes the consistency of the Atonement with reason, and confirms it by Revelation.

In face of the Socinianism latent in human nature, and assuming various forms in various ages, such treatment of the subject, though abstract and partial, can never be out of season. But the circumstances of our own day—the jejune tone of popular theology, the antinomianism fostered by reaction from Romanism and by a long abeyance of spiritual discipline, together with a degraded Calvinism outside the Church, unfavourable to sanctification—all these things demand an extension of the reply; and this in a subjective rather than an objective direction. We propose to suggest the form which such extension should take; and in doing so, to insist on a view of the Incarnation, which, though far from escaping the late Archdeacon Wilberforce (nay, rather underlying his whole argument, and specifically treated at its close), may yet be presented with more distinctness apart from other issues, and forced into immediate prominence with advantage. We allude to its having for its revealed object one pre-eminent result, whereby the ruin wrought by the 'first man' should be cancelled by the 'second man,' and our gains by the 'last Adam' should more than compensate our losses by the 'first.'

And we are the more moved to press this view because, whilst it seems to us to furnish the strongest ground of appeal for progressive sanctification, and also tends to the glory of God, and to the 'satisfaction' ¹ of our Lord Jesus Christ, beyond all other interpretations of the mystery, it is largely neglected by our preachers and devotional writers.

To begin at the beginning. It will not, we presume, be questioned that the Incarnation is the cardinal doctrine of Christianity. The whole Faith turns upon the fact that 'the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us;' that the Son of God became the Son of Man; or, as it is otherwise expressed, that 'when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.'

But the question has sometimes arisen, Why such humiliation? What ends could justify such means? What object could clear such infinite condescension from the charge of disproportion and excess?

Are we prepared to answer this inquiry on any broader ground than that occupied by S. Anselm, viz., the impossibility of an atonement, reconciliation, and salvation for man,

¹ Isaiah liii. 11; Heb. xii. 2.

without a Divine intervention in human form? That answer is altogether *à priori*. Is there nothing in the intended method and character of the salvation itself which would furnish an additional answer, at once less abstract and more practical, an answer from results? Our very familiarity with the mystery in question, its place in our creeds and holy offices, and the fact that all our hopes of eternal life are based on it, have probably prevented our realizing the desirableness of such further reply, or studying the subject with a view to it. That 'the Word was God,' and that 'the Word was made flesh,' being truths accepted by us from infancy, they may have caused us no serious questioning, no anxious thought. But it has been otherwise, unless we strangely err, with many a gifted mind in Christendom, and far otherwise with many a heathen hearer of our evangelists; of whom some have deemed so great condescension excessive, if not impossible; whilst others (with truer conceptions both of sin and of God) have felt the reasons commonly assigned for it insufficient, though still wishing it were true. It was not, perhaps, that they doubted the infinity of God's love, or the just demands of His law; but that they failed to see in the popular statements of the ends of the Incarnation any due proportion between the Divine humiliation and its intended effects; and from such misconception of its objects, they were tempted to doubt the fact. And though we ourselves may have escaped the wreck of faith which they have suffered, who felt the full force of the maxim,

'Nec Deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus,'

and were unable to harmonize the asserted Incarnation with it, it by no means follows that we have escaped unharmed by what proved their stumbling-block. For unless we can answer the supposed inquiry, or meet the alleged objection, as Scripture rightly interpreted would enable us, we can neither understand the will of the Creator nor the destiny of the creature, the proper aim of life nor the highest object of prayer.¹ For the same reason we shall remain ignorant of the extent of the Divine compassion, ignorant of God's loving foresight and preparation for man's recovery, and ignorant of the sublimest work of God the Holy Ghost in carrying Redemption to its proper issue.

Yet neither they nor we are the chief sufferers by the

¹ See, e.g., Bishop Kettlewell's 'Prayer for Renewal,' being the third in Nelson's Prayers for Ash-Wednesday, the Proper Preface for Christmas-day in our Office for Holy Communion, and the Collect for the sixth Sunday after Epiphany.

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understatement of truth here assumed. The chief sufferers, the most wronged, are, if we may so say, the Designer and the design. Even in matters of purely earthly concern, no greater injustice can be done to a project or its author than that which is effected by partial and one-sided statements of its nature and purpose. And the grander the design, the greater the care usually taken to guard it from defective description, and virtual misrepresentation of its scope. Yet misconceptions of earthly plans and purposes are comparatively unimportant. They do not touch upon eternal interests, they are not necessarily injurious to soul or spirit, nor are they hindrances to the attainment of the highest spiritual growth here or glory hereafter. But it is far otherwise with the subject now before us. For we are here treating of what is at once the earliest,¹ the noblest, the most comprehensive and important of all designs revealed or known to us; viz., the design and purpose of the Incarnation of God the Son, the 'great salvation' planned 'before the foundation of the world.' And the injustice done daily to the design itself, and to God as its author, by unworthy conceptions of its motive, its purpose, power and reach, is simply immeasurable and unutterably sad. Thus some are alienated from the Faith by statements which represent the Father as implacable, and the Incarnate Son as the scapegoat of His wrath. Others are taught to dwell so exclusively on the past atoning and vicarious work of Christ,² that they lose sight of Him as their Life, their living Lord, their example and standard of righteousness. Many, expecting to escape judgment,³ or on other grounds denying the necessity for good works, live carelessly, or 'sin that grace may abound.' Multitudes, once regenerate, rise scarcely above the world which they renounced; and legions sink beneath it, *because never taught the full purpose of the Word becoming flesh*, and therefore ignorant of the high degree of illumina-

¹ 1 Pet. i. 20; Eph. i. 4 (conf. iii. 11); 2 Tim. i. 9; Tit. i. 2. Whatever question might be raised as to the force of the proverbial expression ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, when applied to the Lamb of God, by reason of its use in such passages as S. Luke xi. 50, or Heb. ix. 26, the texts here referred to are beyond question.

² A conspicuous instance of this may be found, where little expected, in *Meditations on the Words of Our Lord on the Cross*, recently published by the S.P.C.K. Speaking of the first 'word,' the author says, 'In these words "Forgive them," the entire purpose of the Incarnation is summed up,' p. 8.

³ From misapprehension of S. John v. 24, where 'judgment' (R.V.) should be interpreted as 'death' must be in xi. 26. The A.V. gives the true sense, though not the most literal interpretation.

tion and holiness within their reach.¹ It follows that God the Father is dishonoured; the Lord Jesus is undervalued, and subjected to reproach; the Holy Ghost is ignored, and sin regains its dominion. The truth is 'held down in unrighteousness,' the Divine plan for man's restoration and happiness is obscured, and the necessary qualifications for the 'inheritance of saints' are misconceived. Or, to put it differently, the guilt and danger of neglecting the means of grace are not discerned, because the need of thorough renewal is not felt. Low views of the kingdom of Heaven, in both its spheres, dwarf the spiritual stature of its citizens. The number of self-searchers striving after conformity to the will of God is small. The true character, the depth and severity of Evangelical Repentance,² and the proper life of the baptized are alike misunderstood. Lapsed Christians, at least amongst men, are rather the rule than the exception; and the discipline ordained by our Lord Himself for their recovery, and for the warning of the tempted, is known to us only by name.

With those who may deem this picture overdrawn and this language exaggerated, or those who may dispute the necessary connexion between this state of things and imperfect teaching on the mission of the 'Second Man' and of the Comforter, we forbear to argue. Our space forbids it; and we are not unmindful of the proverbial difficulty of convincing men against their will. But if any honestly question the postulate upon which our very position and indictment depend, *i.e.* the prevalence of inadequate teaching on these subjects—as some well may who have won partial victories with the 'sword of the Spirit' broken in their hands, and shorn of half its volume—they are entitled to a reply; and that reply will fitly introduce us to the matter by which we would enlarge the argument of the Archbishop. To all such, then, as consider the revealed purposes of the Incarnation to be amply represented in the ordinary teaching of either Churchmen or Dissenters, or even in the extraordinary instructions of Missioners and Revivalists, we respectfully make request that they note with us what would be, *at the very best*, the answers of any ten really thoughtful persons, to-morrow morning, if asked, on their way from their several places of worship, Why was the Word made flesh? Would they severally or collectively amount to more than the following?—

¹ To them, *e.g.*, such statements as 'All things are possible to him that believeth,' or, 'I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me,' have simply no meaning at all.

² See the famous sermon so entitled, with appendix by the present Bishop of S. Andrews, preached in 1842, (Parker and Rivingtons).

1. To suffer for our sins and to make our peace with God :
or,
2. To manifest the love of God, and to merit heaven for
us : or,
3. To show us the guilt of sin by the price of our redemp-
tion : or,
4. To be made a curse for us, that we might be made the
righteousness of God in Him : or,
5. To purchase us unto Himself for a peculiar people zealous
of good works : or,
6. To declare God's righteousness, that He might be just
and the justifier of him that believeth : or,
7. To make us the sons of God and heirs of eternal life : or,
8. To be tempted in all points like as we are, yet without
sin, that He might be our merciful High Priest and
Mediator : or,
9. That, as Son of Man, all judgment should be committed
to Him : or,
10. To be the Head of a new creation in His mystical Body,
the Church.

We need not attempt to apportion these answers between Churchmen and Separatists. Our contention is rather that if they are a fair and favourable sample of the results of present religious teaching, then that teaching is such as we have described it, one-sided, inadequate, and misleading. For, however a well-informed and thoroughly furnished Christian may be able to impart to the exceptional tenth reply a richness of meaning and allusion far beyond the intention of the speaker, it cannot be denied that even it fails to suggest either the extent of our redemption, or the nature and degree of our purposed recovery ; whilst the whole decade of answers falls short of the truth revealed to us. For it almost wholly passes over the 'ministration of the Spirit,' and its dependence on our Lord's Atonement and Ascension, as the God-man ; and otherwise does injustice to the unsearchable richness and grace of the Divine plan.

The Holy Scriptures yield a reply at once far richer and more full of promise. They reveal a purpose which, whilst embracing all the ten points above commemorated, is yet more attractive and more inspiring, something more worthy of the Divine wisdom and goodness, more proportionate to the sacrifice involved, and more adequate to the needs and aspirations of man ; in short, 'a mighty salvation.' They do this in two ways, generally or indirectly, and particularly or in detail.

Speaking generally, they say, 'For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the Devil';¹ so carrying us back to the origin of all our sin and suffering, and leaving us to work out the full meaning of the reference, and to recognize in the Lord Jesus Christ our liberator and restorer to our first estate. For as man lost God's likeness² through hearkening to the Devil's lying promise of increased wisdom by disobedience, so He who would destroy the Devil's work must needs restore the spiritual image lost, and therewith its attendant privileges. The comprehensiveness of the expression, to 'destroy the works of the Devil,' embraces *by implication* all the elements of an entire renewal.

But speaking more particularly, and filling in that general outline with specific details, they put the correctness of that interpretation beyond a doubt. Moreover they plainly indicate that the Son of Mary is the Second Man, and the last Adam, because all that was designed for humanity in the first man is recoverable in Him;³ and this with greater security of possession than before, by reason of the believer's union with Him, and its many consequences.

Thus the Romans (viii. 29) were taught that 'whom God did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son.' And that Son is repeatedly declared to be the image of His Father.⁴

Thus also (xii. 2) they were told 'not to be conformed to this world, but to be transformed by the renewing of their mind.' And again (v. 19), that 'as by one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One the many should be made righteous.'

Thus to the Corinthians (2, iii. 18) it was said, 'We all with

¹ 1 John iii. 8. Conf. Heb. ii. 14; Luc. x. 19; Gen. iii. 15; Rom. v. 12 and 18.

² The contrast drawn in Gen. v. 1 and 3 between Adam created in God's likeness and his son begotten 'in his own likeness after his image' (when fallen) is a remarkable anticipation of the distinction drawn by S. Paul between man before the entrance of sin, and man under the dominion of sin, in Rom. v., vi., vii.

³ See Wilberforce, *ubi sup.* c. iii.

⁴ In Heb. i. 3, Christ is called the *ὑποστάσις* τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ in allusion to His essential divinity. But in 2 Cor. iv. 4, and Col. i. 15, He is *εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ*. And to this *εἰκὼν*, and not to that *ὑπόστασις*, God wills us to be transformed, *συμμόρφους εἶναι τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ*. Our ordained conformity to the image of the Son is therefore conformity to the image of the Father also, but in kind; and not in degree; and in such attributes only as are not of the incommunicable essence of the Godhead. 'Ad imaginem Dei factus est homo; illā imagine quā postea homo factus est Deus.' S. Augustine quoted by Wilberforce, *ubi sup.*

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open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.' And again (I, xv. 49), 'As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.'

Thus to the Ephesians (iv. 23, 24), 'Be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.' And again (v. 1, R. V.), 'Be ye therefore imitators of God [μιμηταὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ] as dear children.'

Thus the Colossians (iii. 10) having put on the new man, Jesus Christ, are exhorted to be 'renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created them.'

Thus S. John (i. 16), having described the Only Begotten and Incarnate as 'full of grace and truth,' declares that 'of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace.' χάρις ἀντὶ χάριτος, grace corresponding to grace in Him.

Thus the same Apostle, looking to the completion of the work, says, 'Now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is' (I, iii. 2. Conf. Ps. xvii. 15; Heb. xi. 40).

Thus, too, the New Covenant, as twice described by S. Paul from the prophetic language of Jeremiah (Heb. viii. and x., Jer. xxxi.), promises the reproduction of that very knowledge and holiness, which we have seen to make up the Divine image as originally imparted to man, together with adoption

¹ The passages here quoted from the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians make it plain that the 'image of God' consists mainly of knowledge and holiness. The mind and heart are accordingly the chief subjects of renewal, as they had been the chief sufferers by the fall. (Conf. 2 Tim. i. 7). Having inspired authority for these two features of the Divine likeness, and for none other, we limit ourselves to them, and maintain that 'original righteousness' lay in their primitive perfection, as receptive and motive faculties. Others have thought dominion or lordship, immortality, communion, &c., &c., to have been elements of the image of God. But it is worthy of remark that the two features of the restored image alone specified by S. Paul, and herein solely dwelt upon (because carrying all others with them), namely, the illumination of the mind and the renewal of the heart, are precisely the points dwelt on by the old prophets as characteristic of the coming dispensation. (See preface to Rugby Sermons by Dr. Hayman.) All its other attributes we prefer to regard as *attendant privileges*. In Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, of the fourteenth century, republished by Dalgairns in 1870, the image of God is made to consist of memory, understanding, and will. And in Bishop Ellicott's *Destiny of the Creature*, 'form' is mentioned as a feature of the image; but without any explanation or evidence, beyond a bare reference to Gen. i.

and forgiveness as means thereto. For 'this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will put my laws into their minds, and write them in their hearts. And I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. . . . And their sins and iniquities I will remember no more.'¹

The Prophet and the Apostle, we say, are at one, because the promised illumination of the *mind* in Jeremiah is equivalent to the renewal in knowledge of S. Paul; and the former's promised impress of the law upon the heart is identical with the latter's renewal in holiness.²

Such are the direct testimonies of Holy Writ to that chief design of the Incarnation (so far as man is concerned)³ by the recognition of which we may both enlarge the answer of S. Anselm to the great question associated with his name, and also enrich our homiletic teaching. But these testimonies cannot be justly dissociated from a still larger class of texts which, being interpreted in their light, at once acquire a new importance, and in their turn confirm the doctrine which rescues them from the region of the purely figurative and ideal. We allude to the numerous passages of Scripture which present to us the divine perfections as our proper aim and standard; and constant growth in wisdom and holiness as the due result, *e.g.* :—

¹ This, let it not be forgotten, is the New Covenant of which our Lord is Mediator; this the Covenant of which He spake, saying, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood;' the benefits of which are, therefore, pledged and sealed to every faithful communicant.

² Within the scope of this comprehensive term are included all such attributes of God, and of renewed man, as Justice, Patience, Love, Purity, Truth, &c. Holiness and knowledge together embrace all the fruits of the Spirit. And wherever these twin graces are being realized, there the struggles described in Rom. vii. gradually decrease; and the flesh is being subdued to the spirit. Truth perceived is at once accepted, heart and mind cooperating; and the very features of the divine image are reproduced with constantly increasing force and lustre.

³ The *extent* of the interest of the hosts of angels in the Incarnation of their Lord and ours, is rather suggested than revealed in Holy Scripture. But of their increase of knowledge of our common God, through His dealings with the Church on earth, no doubt is left by such passages as Eph. iii. 8–11; whilst Col. i. 19–20, and Eph. i. 10, point to some still greater benefit conferred on them by man's redemption. And these testimonies, together with the manifold illustrations of the office assigned to them in Heb. i. 14, scattered over both Testaments, place it beyond question that were we as fully informed here as hereafter we shall be, touching the marvellous scope and the whole purpose of the Incarnation, we should be enabled, by the varied richness of our reply to the *Cur Deus Homo?* to establish all the weak in faith, and to silence gain-sayers. But for this it is part of our probation to wait. There is already in our hands an ample answer for the pure and humble.

S. Matt. v. 48 : 'Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.'

S. Luke vi. 36 : 'Be ye therefore merciful as your Father also is merciful.'¹

Rom. viii. 2-4 : 'The Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the Law of Sin and Death.' For 'God sending His own Son . . . condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us.'

Ib. xii. 2 : 'Be not conformed to this world ; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God.'

2 Cor. vii. 1 : 'Having therefore these promises . . . let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.'

Ib. xiii. 11 : 'Be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.'

Eph. iv. 11-13 : 'And He gave some Apostles . . . for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (conf. ii. 23 ; S. John i. 14, 16 ; Col. ii. 9).

Philip. i. 14 : 'To me to live is Christ.'

Ib. ii. 5 : 'Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus.'

Ib. iii. 12 : 'Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect ;² but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus.'

Col. i. 28 : 'Whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus' (conf. v. 22).

Ib. iv. 12 : 'Labouring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God.'

1 Thess. v. 23 : 'And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly ; and I pray God your whole spirit, and soul and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

2 Tim. iii. 16, 17 : 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God . . . that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.'

Heb. vi. 1 : 'Therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on unto perfection.'

Ib. xiii. 20, 21 : 'Now the God of peace . . . make you perfect in every good work to do His will . . . through Jesus Christ.'

¹ And vi. 40, as rendered by the Revisers, 'Every one when he is perfected shall be as his Master.'

² This perfection is manifestly moral, spiritual, and intellectual, not consummated on earth. Of perfection in the technical sense of full Church membership, and acquaintance with the 'mysteries,' S. Paul speaks in a very different manner in verse 15 of the same chapter, and speaks as one possessing it.

Jas. i. 4 : 'Let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing.'

1 Pet. i. 15 : 'As He which has called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation : because it is written, Be ye holy, for I am holy.'

Ib. v. 10 : 'The God of all grace . . . make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you.'

1 John iii. 3 : 'Every man that hath this hope in him (of being ultimately like God) purifieth himself even as He is pure.'

Ib. iv. 17 : 'Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment : because as He is, so are we in this world.'

Or S. Matt. vi. 10 (the very petition most often on our lips) : 'Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.' For what is this but a direction from our Lord Himself that we should pray daily to be perfected?

Now, however one or two of these passages may be tolerant of, or may require, a purely technical interpretation (as we have pointed out in a single instance), or may refer to being clothed in Christ as 'the Lord our Righteousness,' and as 'the end of the Law for Righteousness to every one that believeth,' it is inconceivable that the vast majority of them can be so interpreted without *wresting* Scripture, and doing violence to both its letter and its spirit. And nothing short of that confusion of things essentially distinct, which identifies the preaching of our restoration to God's image as the great object of the Incarnation, and the preaching of perfection as therefore our proper aim, with preaching *human merit* to the disparagement of grace—nothing less illogical than this could so misconstrue them. But further Scriptural evidence of an important though less direct nature arises from a multitude of expressions long familiar, but curtailed of half their meaning, until read in the light of this answer to the *Cur Deus Homo?* Take for example, 'The inward man is renewed day by day,' 'Made partakers of the Divine nature,' 'Redeemed from all iniquity,' 'Filled with the fulness of God,' 'Able to do all things through Christ,' 'Christ formed in us,' 'Growing up into Christ in all things,' and in Him 'coming to a perfect man ;' together with being 'born again,' and all its correlatives, the 'new creature,' 'newness of life,' 'putting off the old man and putting on the new.' And how, it may be asked, if we ignore the recovery of the Divine likeness through the Incarnation, can we assign any adequate meaning to such announcements of our Lord's triumph over Satan, and of His counteraction of the Fall, as were virtually contained in the primal promise that 'the Seed of the woman' should 'bruise

the serpent's head,' and are constantly repeated in the Gospels and Epistles? Such, we mean, as are implied in the parable of the strong man dispossessed; or in the words, 'I saw Satan as lightning fall from heaven,' or 'Death is swallowed up in victory,' or 'Who hath abolished death and brought life and immortality to light,' or 'By death He destroyed him that had the power of death, that is the devil,' or 'Turning men from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God,' or the deliverance of the creature from the bondage of corruption into 'the glorious liberty of the children of God.' What, we ask, do these inspired statements mean if they do not testify to the fact of the last Adam's reversal of the effects of the first Adam's sin, and to our recovery of the Divine image and of our original relations with God?

But to return to the point at which we digressed from the direct to the auxiliary evidence in favour of our contention, we may observe that in close connexion with those two features of the restored image of God, for which we have clear Scriptural testimony, namely 'knowledge' and 'holiness,' will be found all those attendant privileges, or their equivalents, which had their originals in the unfallen man, but of which two or three only have as yet been here mentioned. We allude to acceptance and adoption, immortality, or, 'eternal life' in Christ² (if only we 'abide in Him'), free access to and communion with God the Father (through the manhood and mediation of the Son), the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, free will and power to resist temptation, joy and peace in believing, and eventually perfect sinlessness, perfect happiness in the highest use of the highest faculties, and freedom from all suffering. Of these, however, we cannot now speak; our present object being the enforcement of this one truth, that over and above all other purposes of the Incarnation, as regards ourselves, this crowning purpose was from the first preeminent: to restore us in the last Adam to God's likeness, with all its attendant

¹ Including 'forgiveness,' of which the unfallen man stood not in need, and which therefore had no counterpart in his estate.

² The immortality of the unfallen, and that of the renewed man, are analogous rather than identical. And even the analogy fails in this, that the life and immortality brought to light by our Lord admit of and generally presuppose a bodily death, to which original immortality was not subject. It may be added that neither his immediate spiritual death, nor his long-delayed bodily death, rendered the fallen Adam *mortal* in the sense of cutting short his *existence*; but that both he and all his posterity were and are immortal in the sense of prolonged existence (and responsibility), though not in the sense of partaking 'eternal life,' or 'never dying' because victorious over death.

privileges, as possessed by the first; and that we should be fellow-workers thereto with Him.¹ Or, in other words, that when God of His grace offers eternal life to the penitent believer, He does it on condition that he should be fitted for it by a previous conformity to Himself, in heart and mind, in accordance with those laws of the kingdom, 'If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of His,' and 'Without holiness no man can see the Lord.'

Whilst, however, we maintain this doctrine, we would carefully guard ourselves against the imputation of either of the two following errors: identity in the degree of resemblance in all who are finally saved; or the attainment of a perfected resemblance in this life. For (1) though some who are now last may be first, and the first last (since the grace of God can purge and assimilate a soul by shorter or by longer processes), it seems more than probable that there will be different degrees of resemblance,² and different capacities of glory, as there *certainly* will be different measures of reward; and (2) the crowning act of assimilation, in what may be its various degrees, is reserved to that day when we shall wake up in the Father's likeness (Ps. xvii. 15); when we shall be like the Son, because we shall see Him as He is (1 John iii. 2); when we shall know even as we are known (1 Cor. xiii.); and when our vile bodies will share the renewal of soul and spirit, by being fashioned like unto His glorious body (Philip. iii. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 49; Col. iii. 4; Rom. vi. 5).

We are responsible only for the assertions that none are 'being saved' in whom the restoration to God's spiritual image is not being more or less effected, 'through sanctification of the Spirit, and belief of the truth' (2 Thes. ii. 13); and that for this, and nothing less than this, the Word became flesh, the Lamb of God was slain from the foundation of the world,

¹ Our justification, or pardon and acceptance in the Son, is absolutely of God's grace, apart from any work of ours except the work of faith, 'believing in Him whom He hath sent;' and this faith is of grace also. That whole process is therefore God's, man yielding only the assent of will and understanding, and even in this being predisposed by God. But in sanctification, whilst God works in us 'to will and do of His good pleasure,' and gives us the 'spirit of power,' we co-operate with Him to 'work out our salvation;' and the whole process depends on our active obedience to God, and the conformity of our daily life to the 'mind of Christ.'

² S. Augustine [sermon ix. 8, vol. v. p. 82 (ed. Migne), quoted by Ellicott] may have included this within his view, when he said: 'Sicut enim in nummo imago imperatoris aliter est, aliter in filio, nam imago et imago est; sed aliter impressa est in nummo, aliter in filio, aliter in solido aureo imago imperatoris: sic et tu nummus Dei es,' &c.

and, rising again, became the Head of a new creation. And thus only can we interpret that definition of the Church which makes it His Body, 'the fulness of Him that filleth all in all' (Eph. i. 23).

In this purposed restoration, therefore, we repeat, is to be found that legitimate enlargement of S. Anselm's answer to the inquiry *Cur Deus Homo?* in a subjective as distinct from an objective direction, to which we alluded as desirable in our opening remarks—an extension which meets all the requirements of proportion between means and end, and satisfies the most exacting jealousy for the honour of God.

For here, at least, are an occasion and an object worthy of Divine intervention—a demand and a purpose not unfitting the Incarnation of the co-eternal Son of God; namely, an entire race of intelligent and responsible creatures, once radiant in moral, spiritual, and intellectual endowments akin to the attributes of their Creator—sinless and immortal¹—but now subjected to sin and death, enslaved by Satan, clouded in mind, depraved in heart, and from its Maker alienated—to be redeemed and rescued, cleansed, reconciled, and restored to favour, to be gifted with new and everlasting life, accepted in the righteousness of faith, brought back into the liberty of the sons of God, re-endued with the Divine Spirit, restamped with the Divine image, and made meet for the glorious inheritance of saints in light; and, as if this were not enough, to be moreover the subjects of such manifestation of the wisdom of God, as shall enlarge the knowledge of 'principalities and powers in heavenly places.'

We may be permitted to close this argument with a word as to the effect of its acceptance on the tone and character of the individual Christian, and on the ministry of the Word.²

The effect of having ever before us, and in view of the eye of faith, an entire restoration to God's image, *commencing here*, constantly progressing, and hereafter consummated, is at once elevating and inspiring in the highest degree. It lifts men above their earthly surroundings, and makes them live as

¹ Certain evolutionists are pleased to deny this; but it is *de fide* with the Christian. For, except on the ground of the common origin of the whole human race, and of its fall under evil influence (as revealed in Scripture, illustrated by scientific research, and confirmed by the *most ancient* traditions of pagan systems) the Gospel is unintelligible, and the Incarnation of a 'Second Man' unmeaning.—See Canon Cook's *Origins of Religion and Language*.

² The effect on the subject matter and fervency of prayer, and on the appreciation of all the means of grace, is equally deserving of remark, but our limits preclude our entering on it.

citizens of heaven.¹ It suggests an ideal, to approach which every nerve must be strained, every resource exhausted, every grace cultivated. It imparts to them a far deeper interest in the care of their souls, and a more intense admiration of the goodness of God. It raises them in the scale of being to a prospective level with the unfallen angels.² It renders them independent of the fashions of this world. And it sets before them an end, with power to attain it, which, besides making the most painful life worth living, interprets its mysteries, and 'rejoices even in tribulation,' as a means of more entire conformity to the Divine will.

But this is not all. The entertainment of this hope, and its very gradual realization, are happily fatal to self-complacency. In contradiction to the charge of self-dependence falsely levelled against all who press sanctification and good works, they add enormously to the appreciation of salvation by grace, and are a death-blow alike to spiritual pride, to a barren orthodoxy, and to solifidianism. They leave no room for false confidence in the absence of efforts to be conformed to Christ; and no room for presumptuous assurance when the standard proposed, and the example copied, are the perfection of wisdom and of goodness; and when the copy made is ever marred by the 'infection of sin remaining even in the regenerate.' Or, to state the case somewhat differently: Whilst they who resolve all Christianity into justification by faith, who fail to see that God chooses to salvation through 'sanctification of the Spirit' equally with 'belief of the truth,' who think 'once converted' and 'saved for ever' are synonymous terms, and appropriate to themselves all the promises made to heathens who never before heard the Word, or resisted the Holy Ghost—whilst these men will necessarily have low aims, will soon be satisfied, and, under pretence of leaving all to Christ, will neither strive to honour Him by self-denial, nor to purify themselves as He is pure—they, on the contrary, who labour to be conformed to the image of their Lord, can be tempted to no such self-deception; but finding themselves evermore far behind Him,

¹ Philip. iii. 20. So long as baptized children are not taught that they are to be restored to God's likeness, and have power within reach to stand upright, and to walk before God with a perfect heart, they will continue to look down, rather than to look up; and to grovel in the lusts of the flesh and of the eye, and in the pride of life, instead of keeping the body under and bringing it into subjection. For sad experience tells us that nothing is more depressing and degrading than to be without high aims and holy aspirations.

² Ἰσάγγελοι, S. Luke xx. 36.

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will grow more humble as they grow in spiritual stature and perception, and will the more abjure all trust in self as they really advance towards perfection.¹

And the effect of interpreting the Incarnation in the sense here advocated upon the ministry of the Word, is scarcely less marked than that on the individual Christian. It may be described by the difference of motive power between one who regards himself as sent only to proclaim pardon to the penitent, and one who knows himself sent also to offer transformation to the pardoned; between one who goes forth only to palliate disease and one whose commission it is to apply a cure; or between one whose monotone for ever runs on S. Paul's answer to the jailor (and that misapplied) and one whose varied teaching aims at 'perfecting the saints and edifying the body of Christ, till we all come, in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.'

ART. VI.—EDNA LYALL'S NOVELS.

1. *Contemporary Socialism*. By JOHN RAE, M.A. (London, 1884.)
2. *Donovan, a Modern Englishman*. A Novel. By EDNA LYALL. Third edition. (London, 1886.)
3. *We Two*. A Novel. By EDNA LYALL, Author of *Donovan*. (Third edition : London, 1886.)

OUR readers, as they scan the titles of the books prefixed to this article, may not unnaturally ask what there can be in common between literature so light and imaginative as a young lady's novel and a history of the stern, hard doctrines of Democratic Socialism. Yet, in fact, the connexion is neither unreal nor very remote, for the authoress who has adopted the *nom de plume* of Edna Lyall has employed a facile and by no means feeble pen in defending, we will not say Democratic Socialism,

¹ This truth finds meet expression in the following lines of Henry Twells's Evening Hymn :—

‘And none, O Lord, have perfect rest,
For none are wholly free from sin;
And they who fain would serve Thee best,
Are conscious most of wrong within.’

but that bitter tone of scepticism and unbelief with which socialist principles seem naturally to enter into combination. Let it, however, be clearly understood, that we do not for a moment imply that the amiable authoress of *Donovan* and *We Two* has the remotest sympathy with atheism itself. That would be a very unfair inference, and we do not hesitate most emphatically to disclaim it; but she has a strong and generous sympathy with the atheist in his supposed isolation and social persecution; and the one great purpose of her novels seems to be to bespeak for him a fair and candid reception, and indeed something more than toleration. Edna Lyall's novels have achieved very considerable popularity, especially with readers of her own sex, and of the like generous sympathies. There is much in their style and in the delicate drawing of the feminine characters which would in itself go a long way to account for this popularity; and we are far from withholding all assent to her 'plea for toleration.' At the same time it strikes us that her works may cause some minds considerable perplexity as to the attitude to be observed in dealing with avowed enemies of the Faith; and we confess that we do think that her pictures are, in many respects, exaggerated and overdrawn.

With the social theories of Luke Raeburn, or whoever may be the prototype of that interesting ideal, we do not suppose that our authoress has much acquaintance, and probably she would protest that they do not fairly come within the scope of her stories; but the whole subject is of such extreme importance at the present time, and Edna Lyall's novels so obviously mark a rising current in popular opinion, that we offer no apology for bringing the matter before our readers in one or two of its more interesting aspects.

The first question which it occurs to us to ask is, why, in the nature of things, Socialist or Liberal principles of an advanced character should necessarily be allied with those of an avowed and unqualified denial of God and of religion. Yet that this is so, witness the following extract from W. Marr's book on *Secret Societies in Switzerland*, which is given by Mr. Rae in his interesting account of Karl Marx:—

'We are content to lay down the foundation of the revolution. We shall have deserved well of it, if we stir hatred and contempt of all existing institutions. We make war against all prevailing ideas of religion, of the state, of country, of patriotism. The idea of God is the keystone of a perverted civilization. It must be destroyed. The true root of liberty, of equality, of culture, is *atheism*. Nothing must restrain the spontaneity of the human mind' (p. 127).

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If from the Socialism of Western Europe we turn to the Nihilism of the East, we find the same bitter denunciation of religion in common with the same hostility to the whole constitution of modern society.

'We wish,' says Bachunin, in the programme of the Alliance of Social Democracy,—'we wish to destroy all states and all churches, with all their institutions and laws, political, religious, juridical, financial, police, academical, economical, and social, in order that all those millions of poor human beings deceived, enslaved, tormented, exploited, may at length breathe with perfect freedom, being delivered from all their directors and benefactors, whether official or officious, whether associations or individuals. THE ALLIANCE DECLARES ITSELF ATHEISTIC' (*ibid.* p. 298).

We are far from underrating the difficulties which the existing conditions of society present to every reflecting mind. The rich so exceedingly rich; the poor so exceedingly poor; the rich in some cases so rich that their wealth has long passed the limit where it contributed to their happiness; the poor in too many instances arrived at that degree of poverty in which happiness is impossible. There are few who have not contemplated the difficulties of this problem; still fewer who have not found those difficulties insoluble. Yet we should ask how does the denial of a God and of His Providence relieve us of the difficulty? or, what is perhaps yet more to the point, how will it remedy the evils which we lament? So long as we believe in a God, there is still an infinite power in reserve which can rectify the inequalities which we feel to be, not apparent only, but painfully real. And not only is there in reserve an infinite power, but there is an infinite time as well; for the belief in an eternal God leads instinctively to the belief in an immortal soul. It is the notion that this world is all, and this fleeting scene the last, which makes the spectacle of suffering or degraded humanity so terrible. It is when the feeling of utter hopelessness is added to that of utter helplessness that one falls back into despair. But faith in God does give both hope, and, in a measure, help in dealing with the problem of man's miseries; and we know that in the past there has been no factor so powerful in alleviating them as this faith. In the tender light and warmth of Christianity slavery has melted away, the atrocities of war have been softened, the brotherhood of mankind has been established.

Imperfect as has been the work of religion, and narrow and perplexing as are still the conditions under which she works, yet the believer in God and in His Providence has this great advantage over the sceptic, that he hears from the voice of

infinite wisdom and infinite goodness the message which soothes whilst it rebukes his impatience: 'What I do, thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter.'

But we fear that the true explanation of the connexion between absolute Atheism and advanced Socialism will be found in the concluding words of our quotation from W. Marr: 'Nothing must restrain the spontaneity of the human mind.' Belief in God implies submission to an Authority at once external and superior to our own, and the very idea of submission, even to a Divine law, is abhorrent to the advanced Socialist. We believe also that the belief in God involves, further, the recognition of a gradation of authority throughout creation, of which one step, namely parental authority, makes itself almost instinctively felt. And this introduces the admission of human authority, from which, except as constituted in his own impossible system, the socialist philosopher yet more vigorously recoils. It may be said, too, that the establishment of his own ideal by the subversion 'of religion, of the state, of country, of patriotism,' and we think we may add of property, cannot be effected without measures of violence, of robbery, of cruel oppression, it may be of bloodshed, against which all faith in a pure and holy God must unflinchingly protest.

But though all this be so, it were as untrue as ungenerous to deny that the hostility of political enthusiasts has been in a measure justified by the narrow and unsympathizing attitude of many of the natural defenders of religion. There have been times where the Christian priesthood has been rather enthusiastic than well-informed, and when the more ambitious and highly placed among them have been more zealous for the privileges of their order than for the purity of life or doctrine. Let the reader turn to the caustic sermons of Bourdaloue, or to the strong and indignant invectives against the ambition and avarice of the dignified clergy of his day into which the gentle and sweet temper of Massillon was roused, and he will see some explanation of the embittered hostility to religion which animated the French revolutionists of the succeeding generation.

It is right, moreover, that we should recollect with shame for what deeds of cruelty and oppression the name of religion was made responsible by those who acted in her name, but who were absolutely destitute of her spirit; and that with Edna Lyall we should confess that persecution never did and never can promote the true interests of the Christian faith. But admitting this, we do not necessarily admit that all is persecution which she would stigmatize as such.

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There is a second admission which we feel bound to make. Whilst we have but little faith in the honesty, sincerity, or unselfish views of the average demagogue, we are bound to confess that among those who have become enrolled as the bitter enemies of society there have occasionally, if rarely, been men of pure motives and of real benevolence—men who, living under crushing tyrannies or surrounded by no less crushing want, have burned with righteous indignation or have been stirred with genuine compassion. Karl Marx, as we learn from Mr. Rae, was no political adventurer; he was the son of a Christian Jew who had a high post in the Civil Service; he was a distinguished student in the University of Bonn, and married the sister of the Prussian minister of state. He seemed destined for an eminently successful career, all of which he subsequently sacrificed to the promotion of his views. Though we believe these to have been neither scientifically accurate nor possible in practice, it would be unjust to refuse him credit for disinterested efforts to serve his fellow-men. We do not deny that such men view society and the Church with eyes strongly prejudiced and bitterly unjust. In their judgment society is but a combination of the fortunate possessors of wealth, who have secured the powers of legislation and of government, which they administer with a view to maintain their monopoly, and the Church appears to them to exist only to consecrate the spoliation and to share the spoil. Their estimate of society is entirely one-sided, and their knowledge of the Church absolutely superficial; of the kindlier and softer aspects of society they take positively no account, whilst in the Church they recognize nothing more than an ambitious priesthood armed with a system of hard, intricate, and repulsive dogmas. They are zealots blinded by their zeal, enthusiasts narrowed and prejudiced in their enthusiasm; they quickly grow into combatants exasperated by their strife, and at last cruelly embittered against those with whom they find themselves at war. Yet it were untrue to conclude that all are animated by selfish or ignoble aims, or, in the commencement at least, are conscious of other motives than a genuine philanthropy.

How, then, are we to deal with men like these? From whatever cause, they have embraced principles which, to us, are very terrible; they live, and would persuade us to live, in the most emphatic sense, 'without God in the world'—not merely neglecting or forgetting, but actively denying His existence, and busily propagating their chilling creed of atheism; for they are essentially propagandists, scatterers of doubts,

apostles of materialism. Edna Lyall brings the problem home to our own doors. With all the vivacity and all the generosity of a fresh young writer she appeals for toleration for those from whom Christian parents have been accustomed to shrink in terror and dislike. Nay, more, she asks our sympathy for the possible good, and bespeaks our kindly judgment upon the confessed evil, and this mainly upon the ground that the responsibility for scepticism rests so often with believers.

For in *Donovan* we have the history of a youth who in his very childhood had been repelled from Christianity by the harsh and unloving Calvinism of an old Scotch nurse, and the selfishness of a weak and worldly mother. In *Luke Raeburn*, on the other hand, we have a man of brilliant powers stung into infidelity by the narrow and unsympathetic treatment of his doubts by a stiff and somewhat worldly clergyman of the Scotch Episcopalian Church. It is stated, with probably more or less of exaggeration, that the infidelity of one of our most advanced and most prominent sceptics is due to the like illiberal treatment by an English clergyman, and it is not improbable that this story may have suggested the idea of Miss Lyall's plot.

So far as these cases represent the fact, we cannot too warmly reprobate the temper and the judgment of those who so grossly mistook the true spirit of their creed. Nor can we doubt that much of modern infidelity is due to a reaction from the cruel dogmas of an exaggerated Calvinism. An acquaintance with secularist literature will abundantly confirm this. But not even so is the question solved. Granting that a man's rejection of revealed religion is palliated—nay, perhaps, it may be in a measure justified—by the indiscreet or erroneous way in which it has been presented to him, it does not follow that his rejection of all faith in God and in His Providence is to be justified by the same plea. The two cases are not parallel. If a man turn in disgust from some feeble or narrow statement of great truths, or if his soul protest against the cruel injustice of its own perdition in virtue of a supposed arbitrary decree, and independently of its own choice or action, it is not Christianity, but a perverse and immoral system of human philosophy which he rejects. But if he deny God, and become the prophet of mere atheism, the case is altered. He is suppressing that testimony which his conscience bears within him to God as the fountain of moral truth, goodness, and righteousness. There may be some inexplicable difficulties in the constitution of human society; but these no more relieve him from the duty of acknowledg-

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ing the Maker and Ruler of the world than the inability of a child to understand the character and action of its earthly father frees it from the obligation to affection and obedience. Nay, further, there are real and manifest imperfections in the character or conduct of every earthly father which an affectionate child does not fail to perceive, and in a measure to understand; whereas the difficulties or anomalies which are apparent in the government of the world are incidental to a system which in its completeness is clearly beyond our view. A man is surely not justified in condemning that of which he can see but part—he cannot tell how small a part—nor in denying God because he cannot account for the evil, physical or moral, which he sees in the world, nor satisfactorily read its purpose. We think, therefore, that Edna Lyall is mistaken in palliating to the extent to which she does the atheism of either Donovan or Luke Raeburn. She seems to us to have overlooked the great truth that men are responsible for their faith: that to deny God is to do violence to nature, and that they who do this are, to use S. Paul's words, 'without excuse.' For is it not written, 'He that rejecteth Me, and receiveth not My words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day' (S. John, xii. 48).¹

But it may be that the authoress means us to understand that there was in both of them a latent faith—nay, more, a latent Christianity of which they were unconscious, though both were largely actuated by it. And this leads us to remark upon one of the most striking features of the novels, and the one perhaps in which Miss Edna Lyall's comparative inexperience seems most remarkably to betray her into an inaccurate portraiture of character. It is difficult to see upon what foundations the lofty and true nobility of both Donovan and Luke Raeburn rested. Whilst animated by the most burning hostility to the faith and to the persons of Christians, Luke Raeburn was adorned with every Christian grace, charity towards those who differed from him perhaps excepted. It may be so, but it is difficult to understand how a character of such candour, such courage, such tenderness, such pure and elevated sentiment, could have been inspired with such scorn of the Christian 'illusion,' and with such bitter contempt and suspicion for all the professors of Christianity. For our own

¹ See Dr. Pusey's powerful sermon on these words, entitled *The Responsibility of the Intellect in Matters of Faith* (Parker: Oxford, 1879). The obstinacy with which men endeavour to shake off this responsibility is one of the most dangerous devices of the Arch-enemy of our race.

part, we are disposed to think that the effect of infidelity, and especially of such infidelity as arises from a deliberate rejection of the Gospel, is in the great majority of cases seriously to injure the character, to render it even intellectually unfair, and to endue it with a dogmatism which may well compare with that of the most rigid orthodoxy. Nor does it seem to us that there was anything in Raeburn's cold and mistaken treatment by his father which could justify the absolute renunciation which he made of all religion. Cold and unsympathetic he may have been, and we fear that it has not been without many a parallel; but it must have struck against a proud and imperious temper, a haughty and undisciplined self-will, to have produced a recoil so violent as that of the Secularist hero. Nor do the details of the youth and early manhood of Donovan, his strange inconsistencies of conduct, his perfectly astounding association with cheats and black-legs, seem consistent with the lofty ideal which he maintained throughout, and which rendered him so immediately amenable to the influence of Dr. Tremain, or of Charles Osmond. The character of Donovan is so noble, and, in many respects, so charmingly drawn, that we should be tempted to withhold our criticisms were it not that we fear lest this should prove the one dangerous tendency of these fascinating books, namely, that young folks should be led to look for grapes from thorns, and figs from thistles, and suppose that, except under most extraordinary circumstances, Christian graces can grow, *and last*, apart from Christian principles. We say 'and last'—because doubtless for a time the generosity, the manliness, the affectionateness of youth, may survive in beauty and attractive power; but the contact with such a world as that in which Donovan and Raeburn lived will certainly produce a sad deterioration in a character devoid of faith. How should it be otherwise if the branch be severed from the vine?

Yet, on the other hand, the stories will do good. Their passionate protest against an indolent, self-indulgent profession of Christianity, content to condemn unbelief rather than to make an effort to understand it and to help it—this will do good. Their onslaught upon a proud, imperious Pharisaism will do good; and more good than all will be done by the way in which the power of the Divine Life of Christ upon men's hearts is set forth. It is true that it is the doctrine of the example rather than of the atonement of Christ which is here exhibited; yet it by no means follows that the writer of the tales undervalues this last great truth; but the reason is that no doubt it is the beauty of the 'Christ-life' which first of all

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does most move and attract sceptical minds of the types of Donovan or Erica. It is more than possible that the attempt to embrace that divine life and those divine motives may bring those minds, given as they are to worship at the shrine of humanity, to feel the necessity, and so to acknowledge the doctrine, of atonement.

Yet, after all, the question remains, and every day adds to its importance, How are we to deal with the declared enemies of the Faith? S. John has answered the question in words which admit of no evasion: 'Receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed. For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds' (S. John Epist. ii. 10). It will be urged, however, that the circumstances and relations of life are very different now from what they were in S. John's day. Old lines of demarcation are worn out. These men meet us as citizens, as politicians, as members of society, perhaps in the inner circle of our friends. They claim—and it is characteristic of them that they urge their claim persistently, not to say arrogantly—to influence the society in which they move. They are the party of action, the disturbing element in political and social life.

Luke Raeburn is a political and social leader. The precise character of his views, political or social, does not appear, except so far as that he does not seem to approve of advanced Socialism. But whatever they are they provoke strong resistance. They, strangely enough, draw down upon him the vengeance of the mob, whilst they are no less obnoxious to the upper classes. With all his nobility of character, his public life is tinged with extreme bitterness and scorn, nor does he seem intellectually more tolerant than his opponents. But he is a man of a superior order, and an agitator upon a very large scale. In the inferior agents of the Secularist body we should look for all the bitterness and prejudice, but with little or none of the lofty sentiments and lofty aims of their leader. They will be found in almost every populous parish, constantly undermining the work of the Church, on very varying terms with dissenters, opposed to them on religious grounds, but fraternising with them on political occasions. They will give popular lectures on the follies of the Old Testament and the inconsistencies of the New, and persuade 'the new electorate' that the parson and the squire are combined in a holy alliance to amuse the poor man with the promise of a future life, in order that they may more easily rob him of his share in the present. They are men of much natural ability, great fluency of speech, very ready if superficial in argument, and exceed-

ingly successful with the ignorant, the idle, and the discontented. They act, moreover, with all the strength which is given by complete organization, and it is evident that at certain times the *mot d'ordre* goes forth from a 'head centre,' and a whole district is simultaneously thrown into agitation.

Now it is evident that a contest of this nature is not to be conducted upon rosewater principles. The controversy soon passes out of the region of mere speculative inquiry, and assumes a very concrete form, with very definite aims and very disagreeable agencies. In country parishes containing a considerable proportion of artisans, as in our midland or northern counties, the movement has made itself distinctly felt, and the Church and the parson are very naturally the central objects of attack. If we may advise in such a case we would say, first of all see that the decks be really cleared for action. If there be parochial trusts, take infinite care that they be administered, not only with scrupulous integrity, but with thorough publicity. If there be allotments, see that they be fairly and impartially assigned, and let there be no suspicion of ecclesiastical or political favouritism. And then when the critical moment comes, as come it will, he who best keeps his temper wins the day. For there is after all a great sense of fairness in our people, and those who can show that they have acted with justice, impartiality, and a wise consideration for their neighbours' good, will ultimately retain their confidence when the excitement shall have subsided, and the misrepresentations shall have been sifted. We are persuaded that in practical matters it is absolute fairness which in the long run succeeds. This may sound like a truism. Not so to those who know how difficult it is so to act, and especially in times of political or theological excitement; and still more how difficult it is to get others—men perhaps of small information and narrow but active prejudices—to be strictly just. As soon, therefore, as the Secularist element embitters the strife, and provincial Raeburns scoff at holy things, and disseminate doctrines which a religious man can only regard as poisonous and detestable, there is tenfold need of moderation and of charity. A careful abstinence from over-statement or the imputation of impure motives, and those unjust insinuations of immorality, which at such times disgracefully abound, will be essential to a solid victory and to an ultimate tranquillity.

The calm, measured, dignified statement of great truths; the serious and sober appeal to conscience, and to the soul's instinctive anticipation of a future, this will do more than any amount of heated controversy to stay the evil. In a word, the

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man who would combat successfully the Secularist movement must make himself thoroughly acquainted with the system with which he makes war. He must study the strong and the weak points of the enemy's position, and his own ; above all he must see how much is due to the imperfect or perverted manner in which religious truth has been presented ; and his warfare must be no less patient than earnest. Nevertheless war is war ; and this is a war which does not admit of compromise ; and the truth which is from above must be first pure, then peaceable.

Donovan introduces us to another class of difficulties—those arising out of our social or domestic relations—and they reappear, in an accentuated form, in *We Two*. We think that in the latter volume they are somewhat exaggerated. The scene at the dinner party in Scotland, and that at the appearance of Mr. Fane Smith at Luke Raeburn's house to reclaim his daughter, appear to us much overdrawn, but no doubt real embarrassments do arise, particularly as regards the younger members of the families of pronounced sceptics. The heads of Christian families must protect their children from associations which may be productive of extreme pain and mental distress in after years. Edna Lyall represents Raeburn as far too just to influence his daughter's mind in the formation of her opinions, or to object to her discussions with Charles Osmond. When ultimately her conversion takes place, we find that it was rather from an utter scorn of Christianity, and from an idea of the impossibility of its ever gaining a hold upon a vigorous and independent mind, than from any such abstract view of justice, that he so acted. In any case we think that such a course rests upon an entire misconception of a parent's duty. The mind and character of a child is eminently susceptible of parental influence, craves for instruction, and rests upon authority. As time goes on the nature of religious faith changes : its grounds become less traditional and more intellectual, its decisions rest more upon personal reflection, and less upon the authority of others. The simple adherence of childhood yields to the more mature judgment of manhood, and ultimately both the superstructure and the foundations become firm and substantial. But the process is one of great delicacy, often of no little trial, and no wise parent, as it seems to us, will expose the mind of a sensitive youth or maiden at such a crisis to the risk of questionable influences, least of all to the entanglements of dangerous friendships. Not that either a wise parent, or a wise pastor, will ignore the difficulties which must meet an intel-

ligent but immature mind in days like our own; nor will he take refuge in a system of over-protection, or in anything approaching the contemptible dogmatism of Mr. Fane Smith: but he will prepare the mind for its inevitable acquaintance as well with intellectual problems as with moral trials, and will perhaps bear in mind the witty apologue introduced by the late Bishop of Winchester in one of his speeches upon education. A gardener being urged to let Nature take her own course in the cultivation of the soil, replied, 'Sir, you may not object to weeds, but I confess that I have a preference for strawberries.' If men profess and actively disseminate opinions offensive to their fellow-men, or which their fellow-men consider to be dangerous, a certain isolation is the inevitable result. 'Idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum vera amicitia est.' Those who place themselves in antagonism to the most cherished principles of Christian people cannot fairly complain if they, or their children, are excluded from their more intimate society. Such exclusion is inevitable, and must be accepted by conscientious atheists as part of the necessary cost at which people maintain their independence of thought and action.

Nor are we prepared to admit that the position of the Atheist is at present one of social isolation. The last twenty or five and twenty years have made a great difference in this respect. The freest expression of unbelief is no bar to political, or indeed to professional success. Articles embodying views of the most advanced character are admitted into periodicals which have the largest circulation, and which are found, not only in the study, but in the drawing-room. And it is stated, we fear with only too much reason, that the feminine character, whose grace and purity would seem to be allied so closely with habits of faith and reverence, is peculiarly open to the fascination of opinions which claim for those who hold them the reputation of intellectual originality and power. As we mark the sayings and doings of certain advanced female members of Society, and of their disciples, we ask ourselves whether we are not witnessing the formation of a third sex. Sad indeed would it be were such principles to find a ready acceptance amongst those who are training to become the educators of our children, and Christian parents may well exercise a wise caution in this respect.

But there is nothing in all this which need prevent candour, or even kindness, in judging of such men or of their opinions; least of all should the dangerous character of their views betray their opponents into acts of injustice or persecution. On the contrary, Christian people of *age and experience*,

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and more particularly the clergy, will feel that no intellectual differences, even when associated with grave errors, and too often with evils yet more serious, will exclude others from the limits of their charity and good offices.

But the case of the parish priest is surrounded with difficulties which Miss Edna Lyall would hardly seem to recognize. He cannot but be sorely tried by the obstruction which atheistical agencies throw in the way of his work; he cannot but regard with great anxiety the influence of such men upon the younger and more unstable of his flock; nor will he be insensible to the bitter misrepresentations to which such agencies will assuredly give currency against himself and his motives. All atheistical leaders are not Luke Raeburns; and if they were, their followers are not likely to be restrained by the same chivalrous principles. When the speculative antagonism of the sceptic is combined with the political animosity of the liberationist, the 'odium anti-theologicum' will lose nothing of its bitterness, and there will be enough for a sensitive mind to bear. But the motto must still be 'patience.' The spirit and temper of Charles Osmond is in this respect that of the true Christian combatant. It is true that his creed strikes us as more than a little vague, more than a little wanting in definiteness, considering the influence attributed to it by our authoress; yet she is right in exhibiting the almost boundless influence of two attributes with which she invests her model parson; the influence of sympathy, and the influence of character. Charles Osmond's influence would have been well-nigh irresistible had his theology been a little more distinct—may we venture to say, a little more *dogmatic*?

We do not propose to criticize these tales from a literary point of view. As works of fiction there are points in which they are open to criticism; but they have this cardinal merit, that they are extremely interesting. The heroines of both stories are beautifully drawn, and the family life of the Tremaines is exceedingly attractive; but we cannot avoid the remark that Edna Lyall scarcely exercises that impartiality which she proposes by her books to teach. Her sympathy is warm and tender for Raeburn and for Erica. Has she no sympathy for that poor father, dense and stupid as he may have been, who charged Luke Raeburn with having destroyed his son, robbed him of his religion, and changed him into an atheist? We do not justify for a moment the method of his revenge; we condemn as strongly as Edna Lyall his appeal to the brutal instincts of the mob which caused Luke

Raeburn's death ; but we feel that some sympathy is due to the agony of a father's heart when he finds that his son has lost his faith in God, and all that that faith implies, even in its rudest and most untaught form. Nor can we conclude without expressing a regret that a subject so surrounded with difficulties, and requiring such extremely careful treatment as that of Universalism, should have been discussed with a superficiality which was unavoidable in a work like this. So much in candour we feel bound to say, and were we arguing with Charles Osmond himself, we might have other objections to press. But we feel that we owe Edna Lyall a great debt, if on no other account at least on this, that she has introduced us to a subject, the interest of which is only equalled by its importance. There are many minds, young, ardent, and generous, on whom these stories have had an excellent effect. This we have upon undoubted authority ; and there may be others of us who are no longer young who may have need to learn a lesson of toleration—of such toleration, we mean, as is consistent with the firm and uncompromising maintenance of the truth.

If there are any who are more interested in the political than in the religious aspect of the question, and would wish to obtain some insight into the social theories which have become so strangely allied with atheism, we can recommend them to Mr. Rae's work, which contains at once the most interesting accounts of the principal Socialistic movements, and a very able discussion of their tenets. The book is written in depreciation of Socialistic theories, but with warm and genuine sympathy with the aspirations of the working classes, of whose future the author takes a hopeful and encouraging view.

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ART. VII.—MONUMENTAL EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

1. *Revue des Questions Historiques*. (Paris, 1883.)
2. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Vols. iii., iv. (London, 1882-83.)
3. *Le 'Liber Pontificalis.'* Par M. l'ABBÉ L. DUCHESNE. (Paris : Première Fascicule, Juillet 1884 ; Deuxième Fascicule, Juin 1885.)
4. *La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*. Dal CAV. G. B. DE ROSSI. (Roma, 1864-77.)
5. *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*. Serie i., ii. e iii. Dal CAV. G. B. DE ROSSI. (Roma, 1863 al 1881.)
6. *Discoveries at Ephesus*. By J. T. WOOD, F.S.A., &c. &c. (London, 1877.)
7. *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*. Ed. ÆMILIUS HÜBNER. (London, 1876.)
8. *Manuel d'Epigraphie Chrétienne d'après des Marbres de la Gaule*. Par EDMOND LE BLANT. (Paris, 1869.)
9. *Roma Sotterranea ; or, An Account of the Roman Catacombs, &c.* By the Rev. J. SPENCER NORTHCOTE, D.D., &c., and the Rev. W. R. BROWNLOW, M.A., &c. (London, 1879.)
10. *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. Vol. xiii. (Madras, 1884.)
11. *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*. By the Rev. T. WHITEHOUSE, M.A., &c. (London, 1873.)
12. *Inscriptiones Hispaniæ Latinæ, &c.* Ed. ÆMILIUS HÜBNER. (Berolini, MDCCCLXIX.)
13. *Traces of the Ancient Kingdom of Damnonia, outside Cornwall, in Remains of the Celtic Hagiology*. By THOMAS KERSLAKE. Reprinted from the *Journal of the Brit. Archaeol. Association*, vol. xxxiii.

THE treasures of the ancient heathen past which have enriched recent knowledge from such sites as Hissarlik, Mycenæ, Olympia, Cyprus, Tarquinii, and half a score more, are rivalled by the large wealth of Christian monuments recently accumulated. The spade is the great teacher concerning all that once was. It reveals facts which have outlasted not merely the hands which brought them to pass, but often the entire human society of whose surroundings the monuments formed

a part. 'In Asia,' says Eusebius,¹ quoting Polycrates, 'great elements repose,' and he goes on to state what was then known concerning the last earthly resting-places of S. John and others who had held converse with the Lord.

Recent research at Ephesus, although it has not revealed any actual confirmation of these statements, has been even more serviceable in retrieving, as we shall further show, a valuable link which brings the memory of the last living Apostle into closer relation with the sequel of Church history, and that by the aid of secular monuments. We follow, in retracing the lines of this whole area of discovery, the footsteps of the Faith itself, from its cradle in Palestine to Ephesus and Asia, where the external type of the organization seems to have been definitely fixed, thence to Rome and the West, with just a glimpse in conclusion at the farther East.

Among the monumental relics of Palestine connected with Christian story may be mentioned Jacob's Well, at Nablous (Samaria), a site long traditionally known, but the evidence of which had been obscured. It has by the zeal of some private travellers been now reopened, the rubbish cleared away, and the dimensions registered. A stone ledge surrounded it, with grooves, caused by the ropes of ascending vessels, in the edge of the orifice. It is difficult to believe with Mr. Barclay that he 'sat on that ledge on which doubtless the Saviour rested.' The attrition and casualties of nigh two thousand years must probably have worn out several stone settings since the memorable interview of S. John iv. He left the well-mouth, with its quadrangular stone slab 'of the hard white limestone of the country,' 3 feet 9 inches by 2 feet 7 inches, and 1 foot 6 inches thick, and its circular opening of 1 foot 5½ inches diameter, completely denuded of rubbish and restored to its identity. Let us hope it may so remain (*Palestine Exploration*, Quarterly Statement, July 1881, p. 212 foll.²)

A more profoundly interesting problem is presented in the actual site of Calvary, or Golgotha, which Captain Conder suggests may be identified in a hillock above Jeremiah's Grotto, having an ancient Jewish sepulchre adjacent on its western side, which he cautiously proposes as possibly the actual Holy Sepulchre. It seems that the hillock has the

¹ Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 31, § 125, 22 n.

² Captain Conder remarks that the 'stone dressing somewhat resembles crusading work,' and the 'vault' referred to in the text appears to be a part of 'the ancient cruciform basilica, which was so built [by the Crusaders] as to have the well in the centre of the cross' (*ib.* p. 195).

local tradition of being an old place of execution. He says :—

‘Another point concerning this hillock has been noticed by recent visitors, who have seen in its outline a resemblance to a skull. . . . The rounded summit and the two hollow cave entrances beneath do, indeed, give some resemblance to a skull, as may be seen in a photograph (engraved as an illustration, p. 202) taken from this point of view by Lieutenant Mantell, which I enclose. It is the skull of an animal rather than of a human being, and I should not like to base an argument on so slight a resemblance. It is, however, of interest to note the fact, as many persons consider that Golgotha was a name derived from the form of the ground rather than from the use of the site as a place of burial or of execution.’

Of the tomb he says that it is ‘indisputably Jewish,’ ‘of the later period,’ ‘dating about the time of Christ,’ and that no other such ‘has ever been found before so close to the ramparts of the modern city on the north.’¹

The ‘stairs’ of the Castle of Antonia, on which S. Paul ‘stood’ (Acts xxi. 40), are still standing. Any traveller may mount them and stand where the great Apostle stood, as Canon Tristram assures the present writer he has often done. They are one of the pulpits of the world, eloquent still of the truth and of the constancy of the sufferings which bore witness to it.

‘The Sacred Places of Jerusalem and Palestine’ is the subject of a notice in the *Bullettino*, 1865, No. 11, pp. 81 foll. Therein is mentioned a previously unknown copy of the Bordeaux Pilgrim’s Itinerary, who reached Jerusalem in 333 A.D., when the basilica erected by Constantine was not yet dedicated nor completed. It was found in Paris and printed in the *Revue Archéologique* for August 1865; but two other copies were previously known. The period from Constantine to the first inroads of the Persians in 614 A.D. is not rich in true

¹ Subsequent research has qualified this statement. Captain Conder, in a private letter to the present writer, says, under date of November 1885, ‘Quite lately some more tombs have been found near the one which I pointed out in 1881. They appear to be Christian tombs, and it is not impossible that the tomb I found—then the only one known—may also be Christian. The whole question is fully discussed in the Jerusalem volume of the memoirs which was published last year (1884). I am perfectly satisfied that we have the real site of Calvary, but I should not like to say that I feel equally certain about the tomb, and I have never done more than suggest the possibility of the latter identification.’ See also the last few pages of vol. i. of Captain Conder’s *Tent Work in Palestine*, Colonel Warren’s summary of *The Temple and the Tombs*, and a chapter entitled ‘The Recovery of Jerusalem’ in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Record*.

topographers. The learned editor of the same *Revue* has, however, published another itinerary, next in order of time and only second in importance to that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim. Then comes one ascribed to Antoninus, martyr of Placenza, also previous to the Persian invasion. We have also incidental notices of sacred sites and buildings in Palestine by the historians of the intervening ages, and notably the letter of S. Jerome when on his journey to Jerusalem. The comparison of these with the results of recent exploration would be an interesting study, but would wholly outrun our available space.

But the negative results of Palestine exploration as regards the New Testament are the more grandly conclusive, in proportion as they rest on a totality of research impossible to exhibit here in detail. Whether epigraphic, or merely monumental, or generally topographical, those results have never in a single instance been found at variance with the Evangelistic record. Many sites and scenes of recorded events may always perhaps, like those of Capernaum and Cana, those of the feeding of the multitudes and of the Sermon on the Mount, remain open to doubt, and the competing claims of divers places be impossible to adjust; but that narratives so full of minute local traits and incidental allusions to facts of distance and lines of route as those of the Gospels and the Acts should, after the microscopic research which has now for years been devoted to the survey, never in a single instance be found to be out of harmony with its results would, on any subject not beset by the prejudices of infidelity, be deemed conclusive in favour of their authenticity. The whole area of Palestine has, it may almost be said, been passed through the sieve of the most laborious exploration, even as the text of the documents through that of the most sensitive criticism, with the result, one may boldly say, of no single flaw being detected in their perfect correspondence. The narrative clings to the soil as closely as its own flora. The incidents are set in their native rocks and valleys, and it would be easier to sluice the Mediterranean on the west and the Red Sea on the south into the Ghôr of the Jordan—as indeed has been proposed—and efface the entire aspect of the country than to dislodge them from it.

The energetic perseverance of Mr. J. T. Wood at Ephesus has resulted in unearthing much that confirms but nothing that initiates. There now stands the sumptuous 'Third Temple,' restored to architectural perfection in his careful elevations and plans, while foundations of the other two—as

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also of a Christian basilica dedicated to S. Luke which once occupied part of the site—have been revealed in the process. The most interesting result for our present purpose is the illustration of S. Luke's language in Acts xix. from inscriptions found *in situ*, or nearly so, and their fragments carefully readjusted to unity. The 'town clerk' himself of that famous scene in the theatre there is reproduced again and again, with his full official title *γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου*.¹ The favourite title of the city, *νεωκόρος*, associated with *Ἄρτεμις*, but more frequently in the extant inscriptions with *Σεβαστοί*, is a standing monumental feature of these epigraphic remains.² The *ἀνθύπατος* and the *Ἀσίαρχος* are both found;³ and the phrase *κατὰ πᾶσαν νόμιμον ἐκκλησίαν* reflects closely S. Luke's *ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ*.⁴

The epitaph of a young Roman who studied rhetoric for five years at Ephesus by its term *σχολάσας* reminds us of 'the school of one Tyrannus' (Acts xix. 9).⁵ The style and title of the Ephesian metropolis of Asia and the 'greatness' of its patron goddess, Artemis, are blazoned repeatedly, and reflect the popular feeling on the subject which speaks out so strongly in the uproar raised by Demetrius; while the local importance of the silversmith interest is attested by an enormous list of statues and their fittings, mostly silver with bases, &c., found inscribed on the ruins—all the dedication of G. Vibius Salutaris. We have noticed nothing to illustrate the famous *Ἐφέσια γράμματα* and their kindred 'curious arts,' but an unfortunately mutilated record of the ancient method of augury will probably rank as the *locus classicus* in future on that subject.⁶ This, however, with a thousand other details of interest, we must leave to the classicist.

On page 36, however, we have an early Christian tombstone with an inscription complete. It is of high interest, and, as Mr. Wood seems to have been content to leave the writing undeciphered, we will attempt the task. The slab is

¹ Cf. *γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου τὸ β'* (Wood's *Ephesus*, App. VI. pp. 32, 34): *Φλαβιανὸν γραμματεῖος τοῦ δήμου* (*ib.* p. 52): *γραμματεῖοντος Ποπλίου κ.τ.λ.* (*ib.* p. 46.): *ὁ αὐτὸς γραμματεὺς καὶ γυμνασίαρχος* (*ib.* p. 48). See Acts xix. 35. Elsewhere the style is *γραμματεῖοντος τῆς συνόδου* (*ib.* p. 56).

² Cf. *ἡ νεωκόρος Ἐφεσίων πόλις* (*ib.* iii. p. 14): *ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ νεωκόρῳ δήμῳ* (*ib.* vi. p. 2): *νεωκόρος Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ φιλοσέβαστος Ἐφεσίων πόλις* (*ib.* 50): *δὲ νεωκόρον τῶν Σεβαστῶν* (*ib.* *Paul. sup.*): *δὲ νεωκόρος τῶν Σεβαστῶν* (*ib.* p. 44): *δὲ νεωκόρου Ἐφεσίων πόλεως* (*ib.* viii. p. 36).

³ *Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος* (*ib.* v. p. 6). *γραμματεῖοντος Ποπλίου . . . Ἀσίαρχου* (*ib.* vi. p. 46).

⁴ *ib.* vi. p. 38; cf. Acts xix. 39.

⁵ *ἐτη δ' ἐπὶ πάντε λόγοισιν εἰν Ἐφέσῳ σχολάσας* (*ib.* vii. p. 16).

⁶ Cf. *ib.* viii. p. 42.

oblong, with a broad border not unlike the frame of a slate. With the voluted lozenge pattern of the interior we need not now meddle. Of this border the upper long side and about two-thirds of the two short ones are lettered. The left-hand short side bears only the date with the three initial letters C E Z, standing probably for abbreviated words, *σῆμα ἐποίησε ζῶν*, 'He made the monument while alive.' This fact being so, an uncertain space would require to be left for the date itself, for which reason we have certain dashes or strokes which merely fill up a margin of superfluity. This date is the only uncertain part, and we will return to it presently in a note. The rest is plain, and, expanding the abbreviations, reads thus: *ἐκοιμήθη ὁ δούλος τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεόδωρος δομῆστικός ὢν τοῦ Ἀλτοῦ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου Θεῷ Α Ω* = 'fell asleep the servant of God Theodore, being the domestic of Altus beloved by God.' There is a small cross in each upper corner, another below the C E Z on the left member, and another after the Α Ω (which form the well-known Christian symbol of the Lord) on the right. The cross in the right upper corner combines with the name 'Altus' in a puzzling manner.¹ It should be noted that the inscriptions above referred to, except the epitaph, are all heathen ones, and therefore the more unimpeachable as illustrating inspired language. The epitaphs given in the Appendix show traces of Christianity only in the last two, having the 'Labarum' with the Α Ω repeated over the tombs of a builder and his wife. For the most interesting recovery of the date of Julianus, sometime proconsul of Asia, and the correction thence obtained of the date of S. Polycarp's martyrdom (155 A.D. for 166-7), by which that event is brought nearer to

¹ The difficulties of the date of this monument are great; but without the facsimile before us a bare summary of probable results may yet be intelligible. The topmost abbreviated symbols probably express *τὸ ἔτος*, 'the year.' Numeral letters, ΧΛ (but the Λ under the X), follow, which should mean 630. The next two lines seem to be abbreviated from *μηνὸς (= μηνός) ἱεροσεβάστων ἡμέρα*, 'on the day of the month Hierosebastus' (which appears to have begun on February 21). There remains a symbol which probably stands for *iii* or *τρίτη*. Thus February 23 would be the day of the month indicated. As regards the year, if the Seleucid era were taken, which began 312 B.C., the result would be 318 A.D.; if the Sullan, which began 85 B.C., the result would be 545 A.D. It should be added that the letterer seems to have been careless and given MH, transposed for HM, the two first letters of *ἡμέρα*, as above. As regards the properly Latin word 'domesticus' in this epitaph, it had become generalized in a variety of senses. Thus the 'domestici' were the 'household troops' of the later emperors, or body-guard. It occurs in a Roman epitaph abbreviated DOMEST. See *Bullettino*, II. v. p. 137. Comm. de Rossi there understands it as *protector domesticus* or *custos principis*. Probably 'chief of the household' might represent its meaning in our epitaph.

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the age of S. John, we must be content to refer to the elaborate work of the Bishop of Durham on Ignatius and Polycarp, to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (vols. iii. and iv.), and to a speech by the Bishop at the Church Congress of 1884, in which a good popular summary of the subject is given. The researches of Professor Ramsay in the Phrygian valleys are also rich in illustration, and serve to fortify and sometimes to correct the statements of Eusebius in reference to the 'Cataphrygian' or 'Montanist' heresy, of which that region was the cradle. We turn westward and make Rome our point of departure.

The edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* by the Abbé Duchesne, besides documentary matter foreign to our present subject but of high interest, contains not a few epitaphs of early saints, martyrs, and Bishops of Rome, of which some specimens are the following.

Urban VIII., in the early seventeenth century, while excavating round S. Peter's found an early sarcophagus bearing the single name LINVS in characters said to be readable in no other manner. Torregio in 1635 saw the sarcophagus, and gave a plan of the Vatican 'grotte,' showing the exact site where it was found. Comm. de Rossi regards the identity of the tenant of it with the bishop whom S. Peter is believed to have consecrated as beyond doubt.¹ The rarity of the name at the period is in favour of the identity, and the unique chance by which a fragment of such paramount interest was preserved to the seventeenth century, and then faithfully recorded, only enhances the vexation at its subsequent loss. The next fragment, however, is actually extant. It is a portion of the epitaph of a Bishop Cornelius, which briefly reads CORNELIVS · MARTYR EP. Signor de Rossi regards it as commemorating the distinguished friend and contemporary of S. Cyprian, of whom Jerome writes,² 'Passus est Cyprianus eo die quo Romae Cornelius sed non eodem anno.' We know that Jerome's contemporary, Pope Damasus, was a diligent memorialist of the venerable dead; and since the epitaph is in Latin, whereas the actual epigraphy of the period would have been in Greek, to him or some subsequent Pope this fragment of a later memorial is probably to be ascribed.

We next notice a fragment bearing in Greek letters of a

¹ 'Rispondo che parmi quasi certezza il sarcofago d' un Lino scoperto nella confessione di S. Pietro essere quello del primo successore di lui, che fu sepolto *iuxta corpus beati Petri in Vaticano*' (referring to the *Lib. Pontif. in Lino*, § 11).—*Bullettino*, 1864, No. 7, p. 50.

² *De Virtis Illustribus*, 67.

good type the words ANTEPOS ΕΠΙ(σκοπος).¹ Being found in the Callistine cemetery, this confirms the statement of the Roman martyrology and of the *Liber Pontificalis* that Pope Anteros was buried there.

The following muster roll from the noble army of martyrs, as represented in the same cemetery, has been restored to its present complete state by the patience, sagacity, and ingenuity of Signor de Rossi. The profound interest attaching to it makes it well worthy of the efforts which he has expended upon it.

NOMINA EPISCOPORVM MARTYRV M ET CONFESSORVM QVI DEPOSITI SVNT IN CYMETERIO CALLISTI

XYSTVS	DIONYSIVS	STEPHANVS	VRBANVS
CORNELIVS	FELIX	LVCIVS	MANNO
PONTIANVS	EVTYCHIANVS	ANTEROS	NVMIDIANVS
FABIANVS	GAIVS	LAUDICEVS	IVLIANVS
EVSEBIVS	MILTIADES	POLYCARPV	OPTATVS

HORVM PRIMVS SANCTVS XYSTVS
PASSVS CVM AGAPITO ET ALIIS NVMERO XI.

From the same *Liber* we derive a record of one of the monumental trophies of the conversion of the Empire, the grand basilica once dedicated to S. Andrew, which, save some insignificant vestiges still extant close to the Church of S. Maria Maggiore, has wholly disappeared. In its earliest known stage this building was a private house of great magnificence, belonging to Junius Bassus, consul 317 A.D., and, according to the *Liber*, bore the inscription—

IVNIVS BASSVS V. C. CONSVL ORDINARIVS PROPRIA IMPENSA A SOLO FECIT ET DEDICAVIT FELICITER.

Some of its ornamentation seems to have commemorated the defeat and death of Maxentius and the triumph of Constantine. Pope Simplicius (d. 483) adapted and consecrated it, endowing it with funds left to the Church by Flavius Valila, a record of whose dotation was inscribed on the apse. A minute discussion of all the historical points involved will be found in *Bullettino*, II. ii. § III. pp. 22-64.

The careful editing of the *Liber Pontificalis* brings a vast chapter of the past into the field of present view. To touch a few only of the many subjects of which it is a cornucopia, its ample lists of church ornaments and church property, its unique local reminiscences, so highly suggestive of a state of things long swept away (for example, the endowment of the

¹ *Roma Sotterranea*, i. p. 56.

Churches of SS. Peter and Paul, with estates lying far away in dioceses of the Eastern Church under a law of grouping which ceased in 386 A.D.), offer a perfect literary catacomb of antiquarian research, into which we cannot now venture a digression, but will merely call attention to the *Charta Cornutiana*, a complete picture of a church fully equipped and mounted at Tivoli, A.D. 471, as one of a thousand specimens of first-rate historical interest, one of a thousand evidences of the monumental prowess of Signor de Rossi and the editorial zeal of the Abbé Duchesne.

To the former of these eminent antiquaries is due the systematic, and probably in a widely practical sense complete—although who shall venture to say, exhaustive?—examination of the catacombs of Rome, the results of which his great work, *Roma Sotterranea*, exhibits. He has become the 'Old Mortality' of the Eternal City, and his researches go to prove that cemeteries of distinctly Christian origin date from the first century, being in fact nearly coeval with the origin of the Christian community in that city. There seems indeed strong reason to suppose that the earliest relations of the Christian body in Rome with Roman law began as a burial club—an institution distinctly traceable among social customs there from the time of Nerva downwards, and probably earlier than any definite evidence of its existence.¹

These fraternities, at the same time that burial was their chief or their most ostensible object, included a benefit society, levying fixed contributions, having days of festive meeting, and enjoying legacies, benefactions, &c. Christians were, indeed, a benefit society, and derived from their faith peculiar notions affecting burial and leading them to shun promiscuous interments. They had their stated solemn days, while the 'love feast' was the most cherished institution. That all this was under special religious sanction, and involved a creed and a cult, signified nothing in the eye of Roman law.² Their entire organization would easily take the colourable form of one of those numerous *collegia* under that law's sanction. The anomalous obligations as regards other points of civil duty under which their creed and cult placed them would reveal themselves later; while the tendency to draw off and segregate from other established forms and habits in general society of course would, as it became remarked, stamp them as un-

¹ For a good account of its working we may refer to Northcote and Brownlow, vol. i. book ii.

² See *Bullettino*, 1865, No. 12, 'Le varie e successive condizioni di legalità dei cemeteri' &c.

popular, but not as illegal. Thus their burial places and houses of meeting in connexion with these would be their oldest public possessions, and thus it was only in the last and most vindictive of all the persecutions—that of Diocletian's time—that their cemeteries were wrested from them by the extreme sentence of outlawry.

The oldest inscription yet found is in the crypt of Lucina, and goes back to the year 107, or forty years after the death of S. Paul; another in the same cemetery bears date 110. The oldest evidence of a Roman cemetery managed by Church authority occurs in the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, Pope Zephyrinus (d. 218) assigning there the charge of one to his deacon Callistus. Under Alexander Severus the Christians were well treated, and their cemetery system correspondingly expanded. By a persecuting edict of Valerian (d. 260) recourse to their cemeteries was forbidden to Christians, and by Diocletian these and all their possessions were confiscated. This state of things lasted from 303 to 311, during which period the chiefs of the Roman Church were buried in the Cemetery of Priscilla, under the guardianship of the Pudens family, which favoured them. The Christians, thus dispossessed, seem with incredible labour to have filled their cemeteries with sand to prevent access, and thus keep their dead from desecration. Melchiades (inscriptionally Miltiades, d. 314) was the last Pope buried in the catacombs, Peace being assured to the Church under his successor, Sylvester I., the Popes henceforth reposed in separate monuments above ground, which became known as their 'cemeteries.' In the last half of this fourth century Pope Damasus set himself to identify and honour with inscriptions (specimens of which we have seen) the repositories of the martyrs. To him Rome and the Western Church owe the recovery and perpetuation of this most terrible and glorious page in ecclesiastical record. Among the authentic remains of martyrdom recovered in this subsequent period is a cemetery church where the persecutors, after craftily waiting for the congregation to enter, walled up the egress, and in the following century the reopening of the crypt revealed the whole congregation of skeletons, lying as they had starved in the darkness of that awful tomb—men, women, and children together—and the ministering priest with the sacred vessels (*urcei argentei*) in his hand.¹ These are the facts which make

¹ This was in an *arenarium* between the cemeteries of Thraso and the Jordani on the Via Salaria Nova. Pope Damasus rediscovered the spot and opened a window in the rock to show it. Thus Gregory of

Romanism impregnable to argument in a vast number of minds.

The immense areas and devious complexity of the Roman catacombs seem to bewilder the powers of arrangement and calculation. It is, therefore, most valuable to be able to fix a point of departure and mark a germinal type. Such a point and type Comm. de Rossi believes he has found in the cemetery known as that of Domitilla, in the fragmentary syllables

. RVM
 ORVM
 [here an anchor]

and in the complete title, AVR. PETRONILLAE FILIAE DVLCISSIMAE, vouched for by documents nearly contemporary with and subsequent to the year 755 A.D. as being at that date on the lid of the sarcophagus of Petronilla,¹ when it was transported by Pope Paul I. from the same cemetery to the Vatican. It is remarkable as having an almost pagan air of simplicity, but yet as having dropped those accessories of name of parent or person who raised the monument, of social condition and locality, in which the sepulchral formulas of paganism abounded; while it has not yet assumed any of the phrases of faith and hope, such as mark later Christian epigraphy. This epitaph is assigned to the very oldest class of its kind, at the end of the second or early in the third century.²

The excavated crypt which contained the remains of this saint received also those of the martyrs Nereus and Achilleus. Being thus stamped with sanctity, it became the centre of deposition for the faithful dead, and their remains thickened in a gradually widening radius around it. This crypt was enclosed by Pope Siricius, 391-5 A.D. In exploring it Signor de Rossi found a remnant of something still older, being a notable fragment of a marble slab, bearing, in lettering of a type distinguished for classical purity, two names, perhaps those of a married couple, and regarded by our antiquarian as pertaining to an original locus of the subterranean crypt in which Petronilla was deposited. Cardinal Baronius in the sixteenth century translated the relics of SS. Nereus and Achilleus; but a fragment of the stone, with inscription thereon, set up by Pope Damasus to their memory, has since been found in their original cemetery. More than this, a pillar

Tours saw it in the sixth century. Now costly excavation, it seems, would be needed to re-exhume it (Northcote and Brownlow, i. pp. 155-6).

¹ *Bullettino*, 1865, No. 6, p. 46.

² *Bullettino*, III. iv. p. 152.

representing the martyrdom of one, and a base of another similar, have also been found.¹ And in the eighth or ninth century the Einsiedlen Itinerary or Guide to Rome records the laconic and perhaps primitive title of NEREVS ET ACHILLEVS MARTYRES as then legible on their tomb.² Their remains, with those of Petronilla—all, as above stated, subsequently translated elsewhere—had stamped sanctity on the cemetery of Domitilla, of whom we shall further speak. But the identity of the spot and its ownership have received confirmation from an inscription found on the very base of the Tor Marancia, which now stands above the subterranean labyrinth. This commemorates a sepulchral area expressly assigned *ex indulgentia Flaviae Domitillae*. Another similar one names her the granddaughter of Vespasian,³ the import of which will be soon apparent in the sequel.

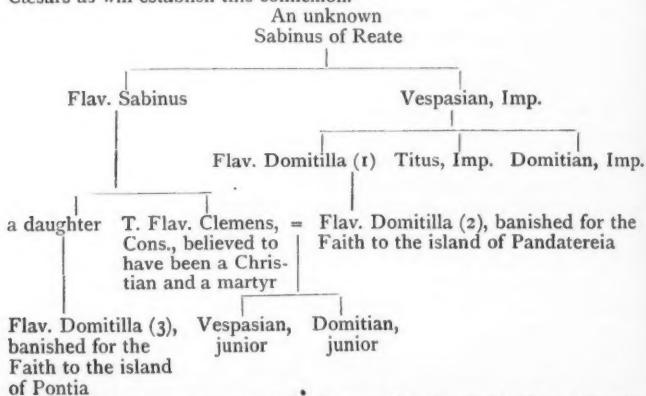
We return to the mutilated fragment with the anchor, or, as De Rossi describes it, 'the cruciform anchor' below, registered by M. Le Blant (*Manuel*, p. 29) as among the best attested early symbols of Christianity, 'signifying that the proprietors of the sepulchre were united not only by a natural and civil but also by a religious bond—by their common Christian faith and hope.' The position of the anchor shows the midpoint of the inscription; and calculating exactly the number and space due to the letters lost, and having regard to the known connexion of Domitilla with the Flavian gens,⁴

¹ Northcote and Brownlow, i. 179–81.

² *Bullettino*, 1865, No. 5, p. 33.

³ *Bullettino*, *ibid*.

⁴ It may be as well here to show so much of the *stemma* of the Flavian Cæsars as will establish this connexion.



The *Acta Martyrum* states that, at once after the death of the Apostles,

Signor de Rossi feels justified in completing the inscription into SEPVLCRVM FLAVIORVM, and in concluding that this basilica 'occupies the place of the most ancient and primordial hypogeum of that vast subterranean necropolis' (*Bullettino*, II. v. pp. 15-17).¹

Mention was made of Pope Siricius and of his work on this spot done at the end of the fourth century. De Rossi states that, his own attention being drawn to certain galleries behind the apse of this basilica, he found a passage leading to a chamber with an arcosolium and a semicircular niche, two-thirds of which latter was closed by a wall of support. On this wall was a fresco in the style of the late fourth or early fifth century, depicting a lady, veiled and clad in an ample dalmatic, with an attendant handmaid pointing to a box of many manuscripts and above it to an open book. These may be taken to represent the Christian Scriptures, and especially the Gospels. Between and on either side of the heads of the figures is a legend plainly legible, which, written *in extenso*, is VENERANDA PETRONELLA MART² DEP VII IDVS IANVARIAS (*ibid.* p. 122 foll. with Tables I. and II.³) We may add that the headdress of Petronella (this change of vowel should be noted as evidence of date) is closely similar to those of the statuary of the Vestales Maximæ lately found in the House of the Vestals in Rome. The pictorial attestation of the value of Holy Scripture as sustaining, in the idea of the fourth century, the faith of the martyrs, is what gives its special value to this monument. They 'by patience and comfort of the Scriptures had hope.'

there was a narrow escape of a Christian succeeding to the Empire, *i.e.* on the death of Domitian. At any rate we see above the conjugal union of the nephew and the granddaughter of Vespasian, both at some time Christians, and, as is believed, sufferers for their faith. Thus the Vespasian and Domitian *juniors* were probably educated in the same faith, and, had not the choice of the soldiers and people fallen on Nerva in A.D. 96, one of them might probably have been Emperor, at any rate when of age. To one of these ladies Fl. Domitilla, (1) (2) and (3), probably belonged the site of the *Cæmeterium Domitillæ*; and (2) and (3), who were second cousins, were each in turn banished by Domitian. It used to be fashionable to decry the *Acta Martyrum*, and no doubt they have been embellished from time to time. But the researches of Comm. de Rossi have gone far to restore their credit, as well as that of the mediæval itineraries.

¹ It seems doubtful, however, whether any of the exiled Domitillæ mentioned in the previous note was buried in Rome.

² The legend of her martyrdom has no earlier attestation, and is probably spurious. The DEP is probably for *Deposita*.

³ Table I. gives the figures with inscription and accessories only. Table II. gives the entire interior, showing arcosolium and niche partly hidden by the wall on which the fresco appears.

Among the ancient allegations which modern research has most severely questioned stands the intimacy of S. Paul with the philosopher and statesman Seneca. The apocryphal character of the writings once relied on as attesting it may be fully admitted; but myth is so often the fungous outgrowth of history gone to decay, that a substratum of actual fact may possibly be retraced as underlying those apocryphal writings.¹ SS. Jerome and Augustine refer to *some* letters, believed to be between Seneca and S. Paul, as currently read. He *may* mean those which we now reject as spurious, but perhaps some older redaction of them, less evidently made up to suit the characters of the supposed writers. In reference to this vexed question we find a monument² inscribed in five lines on a square, which we print here continuously: D. M. M. ANNEO. PAVLO. PETRO. M. ANNEVS PAVLVS. FILIO CARISIMO. The lettering is ascribed to the second or third century by De Rossi. Here we should observe that the D.M., which appear with the largeness of their importance in Roman heathen sentiment at the top by themselves, can be nothing but the well-known *Dis Manibus*, and stamp the epitaph as presumably pagan.³ That a Roman of good family should have assumed the name of *Paulus* would be nothing startling; but the name *Petrus*, especially as associated with *Paulus*, is so entirely Christian and Apostolic as to suggest an origin specially related to itself. Of course it may have been merely a *libertinus* of the family to whom the monument was erected. But if so, that stamps it all the more as having become a family name—in short, suggests that *Petrus*, and therefore *Paulus* also, was a name assumed by reason of some very close intimacy at an older period of the family history. The intimacy, indeed, must have been profound which could produce the results usually traceable to affinity or adoption. We know but of one M. Anneus and one Paulus between whom such an intimacy was possible. Intermediate ancestors who had embraced the Christian faith there may of course have been, although the father and son who had to do with this monument were heathens. If so, that makes it the more

¹ The Acts of SS. Peter and Paul ascribed to a pseudo-Linus, and the twelve letters purporting to be a correspondence of S. Paul and Seneca, are referred to by Comm. de Rossi (*Bullettino*, 1867, No. 1, p. 7).

² It was found outside the walls of Ostia, on the road towards Laurentum.

³ It is notorious that instances of D.M. on tombs incontestably Christian have now and again been met with. See McCaul, *Christian Epitaphs*, p. 60. De Rossi, *Inscr. Urb. Rom.* n. 1192. See also *Bullettino*, tav. xi. These, however, are exceptions which prove the rule.

remarkable that, rejecting the faith, they should retain the name which symbolizes it, and thus stamp the *vinculum* of intimacy with greater closeness. And this goes a long way to confirm the old-fashioned belief of real relations as existing between the philosopher and the Apostle.

Pompeii is the scene of our next excerpt from the past. From an inscription of an electoral character we know a certain Fabius Eupor to have been *princeps libertinorum*. By a comparison of Tacitus, Josephus, and Suetonius, De Rossi shows *Libertini* to have been a political designation for Jews settled in Italy, and specially in Rome; thus confirming the words of S. Luke (Acts vi. 9), who ascribes to them a synagogue in Jerusalem with the Cyrenæan and Alexandrian Jews. The generic title had, as so often happens, become specific. De Rossi next proceeds to unravel the mystery of certain *graffiti*, or rough mural scrawls, on the wall of a street in Pompeii. This wall-scratching seems to have been equivalent in some respects to our modern bill-sticking, and the first recorded can hardly be anything but a wine merchant's advertisement.¹ It need not detain us. The next is distinct from the previous and seems complete, but the first six characters are very doubtful. Taking the first to be a combination of P and R, the line might be read *Pro vic.*² *S. audi Christianos*. The next line is read by De Rossi *s(a)evos o(I)ores*. But the *r* is quite unlike that in 'Christianos,' and the space which he fills by *l* between the two *o*'s seems to demand two letters. Perhaps *sevos* (= *severos*?) *o(bs)oniūs* may be read.³ Then taking *pro vic. S.* as *pro vico sacro* we should render, 'In front of the Sacred Street hear the Christians, severe upon dainties!' By *olores*, 'swans,' De Rossi would understand an allusion to hymn-singing; and perhaps imminent death in the Neronian persecution extended to Pompeii from Rome. Allowing, however, all the rest to be doubtful, the words *audi Christianos* seem established from the testimony of Signori Minervini and Fiorelli and of Herr Kiessling. Unfortunately since 1864, when they were dis-

¹ It consists of what seem to be the ends of three lines, printed as though the rest, which should fill the middle of the page, had perished. The top line has VINA, the next . . . LARIA, the third . . . ADIL (?) A.V. Probably CELLARIA CADI QVINQVAGINTA AMPHORAE QVINQVE may be the text = 'wines in stock: fifty casks, five jars.'

² The rude, hasty style has run the dot into the C here, producing a result like a G.

³ *Saevos* hardly seems as a derisive epithet to suit *olores*, but that the Christians denounced the table luxury of the Pompeian voluptuaries is likely enough. The symbol for *e* in *olores* is two vertical strokes.

covered, these *graffiti*, being mere charcoal scratches, seem to have all perished by exposure to the air; but their attestation remains. This scrawl, while it lasted, was the oldest *literatum* record of the Christian name in the world; and it lasted, securely entombed, for eighteen centuries, only to perish when uncovered in about the same number of years. We should add that below the word *s(a)evos* to the left is a rudely drawn S. Andrew's cross, but perhaps only a mark to direct attention; and a ragged line of mere shapeless scratches, wholly undecipherable, follows it. This is succeeded by two lines in a different hand, the characters of which are packed closer, and have exaggerated tops and tails. We may accept De Rossi's reading without reserve. It is *mendax veraci ubique salutem*, and below *mendax veraci salutem*. It is, no doubt, like the former scrawl, derisive of the Christians. The exact shade of meaning is disputable. The heathen scoffer, we incline to think, applies *mendax* to the Christian¹ and *verax* to himself, and couples this with a play upon the word *salutem* in the Christian sense of 'salvation.'

If we are correct, this again is—or, alas that we should say it!—*was* the oldest original record of 'salvation' through Christ on the face of the earth. It seems hard that some method of fixing so precious a memorial was not adopted.² The scoffer has, however, done the Christian faith the unconscious service after eighteen centuries of proving that it had spread to this gay, voluptuous 'city of the plain' within sixteen years of S. Paul's landing at Puteoli, and 'finding brethren' there (Acts xxviii. 14), although how long before the doom of Sodom overtook it we know not. Later than 79 A.D. the precious scrawl could not have been made, for in that autumn the ashes of Vesuvius stopped all human record therein.

The *résumé* of the Christian evidence of the symbol

¹ Those who remember the *Gracia mendax* and *mendax aretalogus* of Juvenal, writing about the same time (*Sat.* x. 174, xv. 16), will see how exactly it fits the superficial conception which the heathen Roman was likely to form of the Christian—as an Oriental or Greek, a man of low rank and a dealer in miraculous stories. De Rossi thinks *mendax* is the appellative applied to and accepted ironically by the heathen, and *verax* the self-assertion of the Christian, as proclaiming the truth against idolatry, in which case *salutem* would probably be ironical for persecution to the death. This seems to us less likely; but the question is unimportant: whatever the epigrammatic turn, the broad sense is plain, and De Rossi's mastery of decipherment equally admirable.

² The present writer has seen a house in Derbyshire where Prince Charles Edward's officers were quartered, and the chalk marks by which their doors were distinguished, which the owner has thoughtfully fixed by white paint to preserve from obliteration.

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ΙΧΘΥΣ, together with its material counterpart the Fish, would be far beyond our compass.¹ The earliest pictorial forms of it as yet rediscovered are one in the cemetery of Callixtus, dated by De Rossi 236 to 250 A.D., and one at Modena, which, from its having the Greek word συντροφίον = 'common feeding' written on the tablet, cannot easily be later. The elegant device of fish swimming to meet fish, each having a little cross-marked wafer in its mouth, with a floating chain of similar wafers between the two, is underneath that word, analogous precisely to the emblem and motto in a coat of arms. De Rossi, commenting upon that in the Callixtus cemetery, remarks that 'Christian art, primitive and symbolical, could devise no more eloquent manner of professing the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.'²

Our last Roman example illustrates the cruelty of persecution in condemning Christians to work in the mines, stamped or stigmatized with marks intended to disgrace them. In the *Life of S. Cyprian*, by his friend the deacon Pontius (§ vii.), we have a mention, cited by De Rossi, of 'so many confessors marked with a second inscription on their disfigured foreheads and reserved to survive for an example of martyrdom.' The words 'second inscription' are taken by De Rossi to refer to the sign of the Cross painted or stigmatized on the forehead, the *first* having been the symbolical one of Holy Baptism. In a subterranean crypt on the Appian or Ardentine Way, Boldetti found a glass bearing the image of a man having an equilateral cross depicted on his forehead, his head stigmatized and shaved, and a rope, the sign of condemnation, about his neck. Garrucci had questioned the genuine antiquity of this record of suffering, but De Rossi vindicates it, and suggests that it may be the portrait of an actual confessor who in the fourth century survived the Diocletian persecution, the cruelties of which in respect to sufferers in the mines are described by Eusebius (*E. H.*, viii. 12).³

The homage to the remains and memory of the martyrs is the universal language of epitaphs in the following centuries. Their days of suffering were kept as birthdays of the new life, their 'Acts' were read publicly, their proximity sought as a protection in the grave, their intercession, later, invoked for the living. Thus even their mortuary chapel walls were torn

¹ Comm. de Rossi refers to a treatise of his own, *De Christianis Monumentis ἱχθὺν exhibentibus*, as having appeared in Pitra, *Spicil. Solesm.*, t. iii. pp. 545-577.

² *Bullettino*, 1863, No. 11, p. 81; comp. also 1865, No. 10, p. 73 foll.

³ *Bullettino*, 1868, No. 2, p. 17 foll.

down and the sanctuaries of their memory invaded in competition for the closest proximity possible. They were mobbed in their graves by a pious throng, crowding ever nearer and nearer to what seemed the centre of sanctity. In due course came the use of their tombs for Sacramental celebration, and the worship of the living gathered round the repose of the dead, remoulding the tomb to an altar shape, which became normal, conferring a vivid reality on the Communion of Saints, and deriving from the spot itself the solidarity of the living with the departed faithful. The breach in the screen wall of Petronilla's vault may have probably been due to this sentiment. The devotees broke down masonry and scooped *loculi* in the surface of memorial frescoes in order to leave no available space empty. Thus from its central germ grew the cemeterial idea. In the catacomb of Callixtus the germinal point seems to have been S. Cecilia, or perhaps a duplicate point including with her the early Popes. The same ever-extended growth, cell following cell, was repeated there, as in the Lucina¹ crypt, itself a member of the great Callixtine cemetery, having for its central germ S. Cornelius, and in every other in turn. We pause, however, at the name Cecilia, indicating a point of surpassing interest. The discussions arising out of her story, her monuments, and the successive transfers of her remains occupy some of the most deeply interesting chapters of *Roma Sotterranea*. She was a noble Roman maiden, betrothed to one Valerian, but unmarried. On the day she was to have been wed she converted her bridegroom and his brother, with, subsequently, the chamberlain of the prefect, who was beaten to death with leaden thongs.² After the failure of an attempt

¹ Comm. de Rossi views the name 'Lucina' as referable to a plurality of persons of divers families. The indications of sarcophagi, combined with other historical data, suggest to him the inference that the earliest Christian 'Lucina' was no other than the Pomponia Græcina of Tacit. *Ann.* xiii. 32, where she is introduced as 'insignis femina, Plautio, qui ovans se de Britannis rettulit nupta ac superstitionis externæ rea.' The retirement and gloom into which she fell began in Claudius's reign, after the death of Julia, daughter of Drusus. The charge of 'superstitio externa' was made in the reign of Nero. It is probable that her fixed melancholy led her to seek consolation in Christianity—the 'superstitio' alleged. Her death probably took place about 85 A.D. Thus the cemetery to which the name Lucina was given would have come into use about the last decade of the century.

² One of these horrible implements was found by De Rossi, described as 'due palle di piombo rivestite di lamina di bronzo appese a due catene anche esse di bronzo, che terminavano ciascuna in un uncino' (*Roma S.*, ii. 164). From this description the word 'thongs' would seem misleading.

to stifle her in an over-heated bath-room she was stabbed with three several wounds by a soldier, yet survived three days ; was buried in dress and attitude as she fell, and a loose roll of linen was steeped in her blood and buried with her. In 817 A.D. Pope Paschal I. transferred her relics and those of others ; but on opening the coffin her body was found, it is recorded, as fresh on that day as when interred six and a half centuries before.¹ He deposited it in a church dedicated to S. Cecilia in Trastevere. In 1599 Cardinal Sfondrati in making alterations came on a wide vault beneath the altar. In it was the rude cypress coffin which first enclosed her, and, on opening it were found the vestments recorded by Pope Paschal as added by himself, and the body, still uncorrupt and whole, lying as if in sleep, preserving its natural air of rounded grace and maiden modesty. Cardinal Baronius saw it and added his testimony. For six weeks Cecilia lay in state thus, more than fourteen centuries after her death. A solemn record was made of every detail, and a sculptor, Maderna, moulded a monument from the recumbent figure,² which now rests beneath the high altar erected over her tomb. Bishop Lightfoot in his *Ignatius and Polycarp*, p. 500 foll., has carefully examined every stage of this marvellous story. He inclines to the opinion that De Rossi's theory of the facts may be accepted provisionally. It clears up most, if not all, of the confusion in the *Acta S. Cæcilie*, and harmonizes them, when stript of obvious exaggerations and later accretions, with known history. The martyrdom, the nobility, and the Christianity from birth of Cecilia seem all established. Her date of martyrdom is probably under M. Aurelius. Her family were among the earlier converts in the second century. The land of her crypt belonged to her *gens*, and burial places of pagan Cæciliæ above, confirm the *locus* of Christian Cæciliæ below. Her original crypt appeared to De Rossi older than the papal crypt connected with it. A Bishop (in the *Acta*, Pope) Urban is her friend and an agent in her spouse's conversion. The confusion of him with Pope Urban (222-230 A.D.) caused a hitch in the historical adjustment of the narrative, which research has removed.

The name of the persecuting prefect, 'Turcius Almachius,' appears to belong to the subsequent accretions of the fourth or fifth century, when the *Acta* were perhaps compiled. 'The

¹ A similarly well-attested story is told of the mortal remains of S. Cuthbert.

² See it figured : Northcote and Brownlow, i. 322. The form has the loveliness of a flower newly gathered, slightly folded, but unwithered.

Turcii,' says Bishop Lightfoot, 'came into prominence in the age of Constantine.' The whole of Cecilia's tutelary connexion with song and organ vanishes; but there remains the most lovable of all the thousand and one narratives which are niched in that labyrinth of immortality, the Roman catacombs.

In Gaul a similar and parallel growth of usage took place, gathering mortuary deposits round centres of reputed holiness. We find it exemplified in the inscriptions at Trèves.¹ From these germs of feeling the expansion went on until the 'great cloud of witnesses' displaced or overshadowed Him to whom their witness was borne. Gaul devoutly followed Rome in this direction, and M. Le Blant notes that fashions of epigraphic phrase set by Rome appear some sixty years later beyond the Alps. Nor fashions only, but the main current of conversion in the 'Provincia' and adjacent regions finds its index in the extant monuments. The farther the region from the Mediterranean, the later did it receive the impact of Christianity. It spread by a natural conduit up the Rhone valley. At Marseille and Aubagne, accordingly, are the oldest Christian epitaphs in Gaul, still adhering to the pagan type. At Arles, the next oldest site, many monuments take us back to an age earlier than that of any found at Lyons or Vienne, and at Vienne only one is certainly older than the age of Constantine. In the fourth century we find such at Vaison, Autun, Paris, Amiens, Baisson, Bordeaux, and Sivaux. Where Roman influence had opened the road, there Christianity found it, with an occasional exception, as at Nîmes, easy to follow. The Empire once established as Christian, idolatry became the object of popular violence. Its tombs as well as its altars were assaulted, and repeated enactments of law during the fourth and fifth centuries endeavoured in vain to restrain the destructive impulses of this reaction.

S. Martin made late in the fourth century an impression on Central Gaul, but the struggle with paganism lasted for two centuries still. In these southern regions, the first garden of the Gallic Faith, inscribed monuments of the præ-Constantinian period are duly followed by those of the Christian empire and of the Merovingian dynasty.² At Trèves, on the

¹ One such runs *qui meruit sanctorum sociari sepulcris*, just as at Rome the formulas *ante domina Emerita*, at *Ippolitu*, *ad Sanctum Cornelium*, &c., abound. Others are *sociatus martyribus*, *sociande patronis*, found at Vienne, Ratisbonne, Clermont, and Cologne.

² At Nîmes, by a curious contrast, a long resistance to Christianity seems attested by the all but total absence of such monuments till a late date. This M. Le Blant ascribes to the strength of hold which the refinements of paganism retained there (*Manuel*, pp. 122-3).

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contrary, the fourth and fifth centuries are alone represented ; none earlier, because Christianity had not then reached it ; none later, because on that side of Gaul the barbarians broke in, wrecked the churches, destroyed the monuments, and re-established idolatry. Thus in 464, after four successful defences, Trèves was captured by the Ripuarii. This period of cataclysm, during which records fail, is precisely the one where the Christian epigraphy of the region leaves a void also. It is as if the tombs themselves had fled away for shelter from the storm of barbarian onset. In the south of Gaul are found the monuments of a Bishop of Trèves and of a child belonging to the same soil. On the Belgian border similar tokens of a Christianity arrested await the student. In Rome itself the same destructive agency is even more strongly marked. Alaric broke into Rome in 410 ; the Romans fled before him, many, as Jerome and Augustine testify, to Palestine and Africa. Accordingly De Rossi¹ finds precisely that year marked by a cessation of Christian monuments, and calls attention to the fact that those who should have raised them had deserted the soil to lay their own bones elsewhere. Thus the progress and vicissitudes of each struggle of the Faith are reflected in the phenomena of the monuments of the dead. Its lines of diffusion, its area of distribution, its arrest and temporary cessation, may all be studied there. The rareness and lateness of similar evidence in the remote north-west and south-west regions of Gaul express similarly the fact that there the Cross reached and conquered last.

The most interesting of all periods in the history of the Gallic Church is that of the terrible persecution under M. Aurelius, known as the martyrdoms of Vienne and Lyons. But no contemporary monuments attest it. There was no great centre of Church power to throw its ægis over the memories of the time of fiery trial ; no organized effort, like that of Pope Damasus, to perpetuate them. In the fifth century we have the special devotions of the person creeping in, in the forms *Deo sacrata puella*, *puella Dei*, and later still *religiosa*. Tombs appear, like palimpsests, having traces of older pagan inscriptions erased, and thus converted to Christian style and use. Traces even of astrological superstition are found, as *sed iniqua stella et genesis mala*. The diverse beliefs that the dead enter at once upon felicity, and that their felicity is deferred until the consummation of all things, find alike their expression. The prevalence of Arianism, or perhaps

¹ See *Inscr. Christ. Rom.*, i. p. 250.

Pelagianism, is indicated by the phrase *in fide Catholica* or the like. Meanwhile imagery is sometimes borrowed from the ancient heathen poets; thus Tartarus, Styx, Elysian Fields, &c., are included in the devout drapery which veils the idea of future life on the Christian marbles of Gaul. Pilgrimages and legends of miracles next find their way and their record. The purgatorial idea is developed, and we find ourselves gradually descending into the mediæval shades.

The *Bullettino* is a contemporaneous chronicle of all that exploring zeal uncovers, of all that sagacity, sharpened by the attrition of experience, detects in Christian archæology. All hieratic discoveries or recoveries may find their proper register here.

Of the subtle but clear links of connecting evidence which careful research sometimes furnishes to Church history, take the following instance. Some thirteen miles from Rome, on the Via Latina, stands the famous monastery of Grotta Ferrata, on the spot where a large amount of antiquarian consent places the still more famous 'Tusculan Villa' of Cicero. Close to this site was another villa, sometime owned by Pompeius Asper, a centurion, from whom were probably descended a father and son, each named Julius Asper and both consuls together, being favourites of Caracalla, in 212 A.D. In 205 the father had been proconsul of Africa, and Tertullian mentions him (cited by Comm. de Rossi) as disliking the entertainment of a cause in which a Christian was prosecuted. In the same province fifty years later an Aspasius Paternus, the then proconsul, is known to have pronounced sentence of banishment on Cyprian. In the neighbourhood of Grotta Ferrata is found an inscription . . . SIA PATERNA C. F. (*clarissima femina*), which other monuments of the Aspri villa-site show to be the name of a lady, the wife of the elder and mother of the younger Julius Asper aforesaid. There can be hardly a doubt that *Aspa-SIA* is the proper completion of the mutilated name, and that her grandson was the persecuting official of 252 A.D., and her husband the lenient official of Tertullian (*Bullettino* II. iii. p. 106 foll.)

But sometimes we drop upon discoveries which link nothing. Here is one as isolated as was the footprint which startled Robinson Crusoe on the shore of his island. At Berezovoy, in Siberia, was dug up in 1867 a silver paten of nearly six inches diameter, showing, unlettered, a bas-relief in *repoussé*, the device of which was: between two archangels a cross mounted on a globe, beneath it a field or surface show-

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ing the sources of four rivers (those presumably of Paradise); all in Byzantine workmanship, and ascribed by Muscovite antiquaries to the ninth century at the earliest, but by Comm. de Rossi to the seventh. A cameo in the Library of Paris is said to show the same subject precisely. Such a discovery in an island of a Siberian river is utterly unique. It joins with nothing before or after it in time, with nothing near it in site. If the myth of Prester John were a reality we could account for it. It not only stands absolutely *per se* in respect of date and place, but it is probably the very oldest specimen of Byzantine sacred art now extant in the world (*ibid.*, II. ii. pp. 153-5).

We are indebted to a foreign scholar for the most comprehensive survey which has yet appeared of early British Christian monuments (including English). Herr Hübner, whose research has resulted in the volume now before us, has appended to it maps showing the distribution of the sites at which the recorded monuments were found. These last are about 230 in number, but when we add that of this total only twenty have dates conjecturally appended,¹ it will be plain that much remains to be done in making the entire class historically illustrative. Here, in Latin as uncouth and rugged as the blocks of stone which it inscribes, may be read the name and even the character of a saint rescued from oblivion. Two of the probably earliest, being round buttons of tin dredged from the Thames bed at Battersea, bear the *Labarum* (No. 220). Another (No. 187) bears the venerable name BAEDA in its first line; yet another (No. 198) hails from Jarrow, and is dated in the fifteenth year of Ecfred, Bæda's own period. No. 61, once cruciform, commemorates a Samson as erecting 'hanc crucem,' and may possibly commemorate the Samson of Welsh hagiology, of the sixth century, Archbishop, it is said, of Dol, in Brittany.²

Among the most effective and ineffaceable monuments are the names of places, including the dedication of their churches; and from them, coupled with other known circumstances, decisive inferences may sometimes be drawn. We have, for instance, in Somersetshire four commemorations of saints, all of them Welsh, in as many local names. Keynsham recalls S. Keyna or Ceneu, A.D. 500-550; Congresbury, S. Cungar, 550-600. At Watchet we have a S. Dageman's or Decuman's

¹ And we may add that only twelve are reckoned by the editor as Anglo-Saxon or Early English.

² See, for this Samson, Haddan and Stubbs, p. 149, *note*, where Giraldus Cambrensis and others are referred to.

(650-706)¹ Church, at Porlock one to S. Dubritius or Dyfryg (550-612), of which last a highly interesting monograph was published by a lady of that neighbourhood, Mrs. Halliday. Now these are the *only* names known in Somerset hagiology at or near this period of the sixth and seventh centuries. From this we may fairly conclude the extension of the influence of the see of Llandaff southward, across the Bristol Channel, at that period. The death of S. Decuman in 706 (*ub. sup.* p. 161), and the fact that no Englishman would have dedicated a church to him, shows that the dominion of Wessex, although then pushing westward, had not reached Watchet by that year; much more therefore may Dyfryg have founded a church (or preaching station, which later grew into one and retained his name) in a period earlier by a century and on a spot lying, as Porlock does, still farther west. If we ask the route he took, his dedications in the valley of the Wye point to that as his channel of access.

From Mr. Kerslake's monograph we learn that in Cornwall three-fourths of the dedications are to local saints, one-fourth only to general. Indeed, some seem ambiguous. Thus 'S. Paul' may recall not the Apostle of the Gentiles, but S. Pol of local fame. And in the extension noticed by Mr. Kerslake of Damnonian influence eastward, as, *e.g.*, to Lanprobi ('Probeschirch'), near Sherborne, and to Cricklade, in East Gloucestershire, we come upon curious examples of shrines which have supplanted or combined with and taken precedence of older ones, somewhat as at Cambridge Gonville Hall is absorbed and yet remains in Caius College. Thus at Tavistock we have 'S. Mary and S. Rumon'—a firm, as it were, in which the older partner has the junior place.² Whether we have in

¹ S. Decuman has also one dedication in Pembrokeshire and another in Brecknockshire.

² We tabulate the more considerable of the distributions of dedications in Mr. Kerslake's pages, under C. for Cornwall, D. for Devon, W. for Wales, and S. for Somersetshire.

	C.	D.	W.	S.
S. Nectan (Nighton)	1	1	0	0
" Rumon or Ruan	3	1	0	0
" Bude or Budeock	1	2 or 3	0	0
" Constantin	1	1	2	0
" David	3	1	{ abundant but in S. (Wales only)	1
" Non	frequent	1	frequent	0
" Petrock	8	8	3	0
" Brynach or Brannock	6	0	6	1 (?)

This last item rests on a charter of Ethelbald, giving to Glastonbury Abbey a place called, with variable spelling, 'Brannoc-mynstre.' Besides

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such tokens a remnant of British people surviving amidst English surroundings or an outlying homestead of English converted by a Cornish, &c., missionary, are questions which, until our hagiology is fully mapped, we cannot answer.

Now as the tide of facts, where known, sets against the notion of Wales having borrowed from these south-western counties, they must have borrowed from Wales; and we thus rescue a glimpse of daylight from the obscurity which enwraps the earlier history of the Church between Bristol and the Land's End.

The use of dedications in establishing history is shown in those of S. Kentigern, *alias* Mungo, the apostle of Strathclyde. Of these eight are on Scottish ground, and as many lie immediately south of the Border, all doubtless within the ancient diocese of Glasgow. We may trace in these latter Cumbrian sites his labours step by step, as detailed by Joscelin, a monk of Furness. The village churches¹ bearing his name lead us from Carlisle towards the mountain mass of Blencathra and Skiddaw, and thence through Aspatria towards the Irish Sea—exactly where his biographer takes him. Here, then, we have the evangelization of a part of Strathclyde fixed imperishably in local names which have descended from the latter half of the sixth century. S. Kentigern is believed to have died in 603.

One of the wonders of the Christian world on a small scale is the ancient cross of Gosforth, in Cumberland. It is 14½ feet high, the tallest, as believed, in Britain; and if it belongs, as ascribed, to the seventh century, must surely have been taken down and hidden piously away, or how could it have escaped the havoc of the Danes in the ninth? It commemorates, as interpreted by British and Danish antiquaries, in rude but clearly decipherable sculpture the

these S. Brendan, an Irish missionary, is commemorated in Somerset and Devon; S. Bridget in Cornwall, Devon, South Wales, and Ireland; S. Creed in Cornwall and Ireland; S. Keyne in Somerset, Cornwall, and South Wales; and S. Julian in Cornwall, South and North Wales, and perhaps as 'S. Sulien' in Brittany. S. Ciwg or Gwick, patron of Llangwick, in Glamorganshire, is probably the Cornish S. Kew, while Kew-Stoke is a village near Weston-super-Mare, where a flight of Cyclopean stairs on a hill near is known as 'S. Kew's Steps.'

¹ Among them is Mungrisdale, *i.e.* Mungo Grisdale (there are several 'Grisdales' near), where is said to be still extant a chalice of 1600 A.D., with the legend 'Mounge-Griesdell.' Probably in every case crosses, as preaching stations, preceded church fabrics, and sometimes they are further attested by wells of like dedication. One such is stereotyped in the name 'Crossthaite,' where stood the cross which came before the parish church, as it now is, of Keswick.

triumph of Christianity over belief in Thor and Odin, mingling emblems of the victorious and the vanquished creed alike in its weird old-world symbols, and in one panel seeming equivocally to disguise under the legend of the dying Baldr-Odin the last act of the Crucifixion of our Lord. It forms the key to an entire chapter of the conversion of north-western heathendom; showing how the Church gathered in everywhere such germs of folk-lore as were akin to her truth, and popularized more broadly that truth through those nursery tales taken from the infancy of the nations. It reveals not only where she worked and when, but *how*. Similarly on the ancient cross of Ruthwell, ascribed to the same seventh century, we have Cædmon's Song of the Creation in runes, and here again Christ appears as Baldr.¹

In Cornwall itself the monuments of undoubted high antiquity are few; but what is more surprising is the neglect attested by the places of many of them. Thus we find No. 3 in Barlowena bottom, in front of a bridge, No. 5 in the public road leading to Helston. No. 7 is inserted in a roadside wall near a bridge of the West Cornwall Railway; No. 9 is a doorpost of a vicarage; Nos. 10 and 12 have more honourable positions in a church wall and tower respectively, while No. 11 is near a public house, 'The Indian Queen,' midway between Bodmin and Truro; and so on throughout the list, which contains but thirty in all, including seven of Devonshire, most of them being mere *hic-jacets* of obscure persons, impossible to date and singularly lacking in distinctive tokens of Christianity. There are two examples of the *Labarum*; one in the cemetery of S. Helen's Chapel, another built up in the wall of Phillack Church, which is diminutive and looks old. But the *Labarum* may of course belong to almost any age from Constantine downwards. There is in S. Hilary's churchyard the well-known stone in memory of Flavius Constantinus Augustus, which Herr Hübner singularly omits to notice. Which Constantine is here intended is doubtful—not 'the Great,' we may almost certainly say.

As compared with France, and still more with Italy, Spain seems to have little in respect of early Christianity to put in as monumental evidence. The once famous monuments

¹ For this record of the Gosforth and Ruthwell crosses acknowledgment is due to the Rev. W. S. Calverley, who had described them in an article in the *Transactions of the Cumberland Archaeological Society*, part ii. vol. vi. p. 373 foll. It contains a similar highly interesting description of an early 'runic grave-block' at Dearham, probably of the ninth century, symbolizing in rude sculpture the fall and redemption of man (*ibid.* p. 358 foll.)

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supposed to be by Diocletian and Galerius, 'nomine Christianorum deletio qui remp. evertabant,' and 'superstitione Christi ubique deleta et cultu deorum propagato,' are now condemned as spurious.¹ Herr Hübner gives two genuine ones,² one being of the era of Constantine, 'No. 4106 *Tarracone Antiquus*. In basi crucis sanctæ fractæ.' It contains an inscription to Constantine with the epithet 'piissimo,' and is dated A.D. 323-327; No. 4422 is said to be 'ante divi Petri, in fragmentis,' containing three lines of mutilated inscription, and below them the *Labarum* with the $\Lambda\Omega$ in its angles and PS (as if making with the X of the *Labarum* the abbreviation $\chi\rho\varsigma$ of $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$) above and below.

Individual churches are often expressive monuments of high antiquity; but the task would be endless to collect their evidence here. Everyone knows the twin towers of Dover, but everyone does not know that they are the remnant of a Roman-British church. That, however, is an empty skull of ruin. The ancient Church of S. Martin at Canterbury has its living altar still. It was restored almost from the ground in the Middle Ages. It is known to have been Queen Bertha's (or, as we are now told to know her, Æthelburgha's) church when she and her retinue were the only Christian congregation in the Heptarchy; but among its lower courses are patched-in fragments of Roman brick, confirming the tradition of Bæda that it was still earlier a church of the Roman Britons, desecrated to heathen worship by the conquering Jutes. Thus it commemorates all known ages of the Church of Christ within the four seas of Britain, and is a monument of our Faith in all the races which survive in the Englishman of to-day and in his Transatlantic and colonial kin. Many others of our older churches probably, and some few certainly, rest similarly on the lines of ancient British fastnesses of the Faith. We have in S. Martin's the one which has never lost the tradition, and which only for about a century and a half had lost actual historic continuity, when it was reclaimed. It is the cradle church of the British Empire, and may be said to cast its shadow round the world. We next return eastwards.

The Malabar 'Christians of S. Thomas' appear to have no certain monuments of high antiquity to show,³ and depend

¹ They are given in Gruter's *Inscriptt. Antiqq. Totius Orbis*, pp. ccxxx, cclxxx, as being 'E Schotti schedis aliorumque,' and located 'Cluniæ in Hispan.'

² *Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. ii. pp. 550, 591.

³ The 'Little Mount' at Mylapur is the legendary scene of S. Thomas's death, and a cave is still shown close by, believed to have been used by

wholly on tradition for the establishment of their origin. Immigration from Eastern Syria down the Persian Gulf may easily be supposed to have been the channel of this Indian Christianity; and that Roman commerce, probably by the same route, had certainly reached India by the Christian era, seems proved by the several hoards of Roman coins of various emperors, from Julius Cæsar to Nero, found in river-beds and other places in our great dependency within modern memory.

Three sets of engraved copper-plates¹ appear to be extant, dating from the latter half of the ninth century. The earliest of these, being Jewish, however interesting, we pass by. The second set contains a grant of land to 'the Tarsiâ Church,' conferring also justiciary powers on the heads of the Christian community, but places its protection partly under the head of the Jewish community,² which in the earlier set forms the beneficiary. In 1845, it is said, there were still extant in Travancore some representatives of the Syrian Christians to whom this grant was made. The third document on one large sheet of copper confers similarly, from a native rajah, similar privileges on 'Iravi Corttan,' believed to have been a Syrian Christian merchant. Indeed, this patronage of Jewish and Christian sojourners seems to have sprung from the native prince's desire to encourage commerce in the persons of its most enterprising representatives. But older than any of these is the well-known Chinese and Syriac inscription found at Si-gan-foo (the capital of the province of Shemsee, about 600 miles south-west of Peking) in the year 1625, but dating as far back as the year 781. It commemorates the establishment in China of Nestorian Christianity in the eighth century. It bears the title: 'Tablet of the propagation and promulgation of the illustrious religion of Ta-tsin (i.e. Syria) in the Middle Kingdom.' A rubbing of this most remarkable inscription was exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries on April 19, 1860, and an elaborate account of it will be found in the *Proceedings* of the Society under that date (2nd series, vol. i. pp. 127-33). M. Renan, in his *Études des Langues Sémitiques*, has endeavoured to cast doubts on its

that Apostle as an oratory. A rude ancient cross, carved in stone, surmounts a flight of stone steps; but the whole is of uncertain date.

¹ See the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. xiii., where tracings and translations of these plates, with comments by the Rev. D. Gundert, are given, p. 114 foll.

² This is interesting as showing the amity between the Jewish and Christian communities. Further, the 'Old Christians' of Malabar are said to show a Syrian physiognomy often closely approaching the Jewish type.

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genuineness, but his attacks have been abundantly refuted by M. Pauthier in the *Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne* for 1857. See also a memoir by Mr. Wylie in the fifth volume of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. The text of the inscription has frequently been published.

Our notices are but a gleanings of the enormous harvest which the archæologist is gathering. Sepulchral caverns designed to exclude the light, and by local sanctity as well as actual depth to be practically impenetrable, now yield to the illumination of research, and become a restored bond of sympathy between the quick and dead. Of these, some bear as it were their labels in inscriptions, others are anonymous, and present their stony sphinx-riddle to the archæologist. Of the inscriptions some are in languages now silent on the lips of men, and the very characters of which now bewilder the eye which they were intended to inform; others confront the scholar with phrases familiar to the student of Herodotus or of the fragments of the Roman Twelve Tables. The unrivalled perseverance of inquiry and acumen which has become almost divination—the highest gifts, in short, of the human mind, sharpened and fortified by all the centuries now behind it—have been bestowed in rescuing this salvage from the wreck of time, in picking the double lock of silence and ignorance which lay on the treasure house of eld. The period has not yet come, but may be possibly not far distant, when, as we mark by buoys a tidal channel, we may be able to index by monuments the rising tide of Christianity in the West, and to map out from age to age the gradually receding area of the 'pagani.' In the East, on the contrary, a double process will have to be registered—how in the early centuries the Faith extended itself and seemed to take 'the heathen for its inheritance,' and subsequently, through internal corruption and internecine controversy, endured a long decline and final extermination, parallel to that Eastern Empire of which it had become the parasite, and whose decrepitude in the outlying provinces it even antedated.

But in those regions the way of research is blocked by the impenetrable stagnation of the Moslem. Over and over again was Mr. Wood at Ephesus thwarted, baffled, and delayed by the ignorance, cupidity, and superstition of the government, the landowners, or the workmen with whom he had to do. Political, social, and religious darkness must turn to light before these impediments are removed.

ART. VIII.—DR. MARTINEAU'S TYPES OF ETHICAL THEORY.

1. *Types of Ethical Theory.* By JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D., LL.D., Principal of Manchester New College, London. Two vols. Clarendon Press Series. (Oxford, 1885.)
2. *The Springs of Conduct.* By C. LLOYD MORGAN. (London, 1885.)
3. *La Morale.* Par EUGÈNE VÉRON. (Paris; 1884.)
4. *The Woman Question*, 'Westminster Review,' January. By ELEANOR MARX AVELING and EDWARD AVELING. (London, 1886.)

WHETHER from the necessity of the case or from a peculiar intellectual habit, writers on philosophical subjects often fail to relieve their abstract disquisitions by illustrations. In consequence of this, to an unphilosophical reader they appear to be moving, not in a world of realities, but amongst mere mental creations; to be, as he says, 'up in the clouds.' Moral questions, however, certainly admit of illustration, and we will commence this paper by borrowing one from the work whose title we have placed at the head of our list.

'A child not above the seductions of the jam-closet, finding himself alone in that too trying place, makes hurried inroads upon the sweetmeats within tempting reach; but has scarcely sucked the traces from his fingers before he is ready to sink into the earth with compunction, well knowing that the appetite he has indulged is meaner than the integrity he has violated.'¹

We should be disposed, for our part, to say that the consciousness of having violated the law of a loved parent had more or less to do with the child's distress. But we do not now wish to discuss that point. A well-conditioned child will certainly feel intense self-dissatisfaction. Why? Because he knows that he has acted wrongly. He knows in such a case, not as a matter of theory, but of feeling, the difference between *right* and *wrong*, and until you succeeded in distorting his mental vision, he would be as certain that they are intrinsically different as he is that two and two cannot make five. In other words, he is convinced of the 'absolute' nature of the Moral Law so far as he knows it. By-and-by, as he grows older, he may find that this fundamental conviction is called

¹ See *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. ii. p. 41.

in question. He will then have learnt more of the contents of the Moral Law; will probably have learnt the summary of it in the Decalogue, and be familiar with the wide spiritual interpretation given of that summary by Christ. But he may then meet with teachers who will tell him that all questions of right and wrong are merely questions of utility. He may even meet with some of those 'newest connoisseurs of utility' who are ready to spurn as a superstition or an imposture every commandment of the Decalogue.¹

Circumstances have delayed the notice in this Review of Dr. James Martineau's *Types of Ethical Theory*, a work which has attracted a good deal of attention, and has deservedly met with a highly favourable reception. It is a treatise, however, of no merely ephemeral interest as regards its subject, nor of merely temporary value as regards the treatment of it. For its subject is the nature and authority of Duty, of the rule of Right, and the genesis of Conscience, and in his treatment of it the author's great powers are employed in vindicating the sacredness and the Divine origin of the realities denoted by the terms Right and Conscience.

No department of human knowledge, no line of inquiry, is of more lasting or of more universal interest than that which is covered by the term Ethics. Even when it is regarded apart from religion, this is true. For although the systematic study of 'the science of conduct,' or 'the doctrine of human character,' has few attractions for the ordinary run of readers, yet literature in general derives its main springs of interest from reflecting moral facts; and it is moral facts which it is the business of Ethics to classify and reduce to law. Let any one recall to mind a few of the specimens of literature with which he is most familiar. Such a challenge calls up before the mind's eye a world, not of lifeless things, but of *persons*, that is to say, of moral beings; such as a Prometheus chained to the rock for his love of man, yet resolute in his defiance of tyrant power; or an Oedipus overwhelmed with horror for his involuntary crimes; or a Macbeth led on to wade in blood by the promptings of ambition and the suggestions of evil spirits; or a Hamlet in whom

'the native hue of resolution

Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought';

and so on throughout the range of dramatic and other imaginative literature. Nor is it here alone that the ethical element predominates. What would biography be without it? What

¹ *Ibid.* p. 334.

would history be? Is not the master-interest everywhere due to the presentment, whether as historical fact or imagined ideal, of human conduct considered as revealing motives, springs of action, character? And even if the poet loves to embellish his descriptions of human character with metaphors borrowed from natural phenomena, does he not repay the debt a thousandfold when he personifies nature and reads into her features the expression of human character?

Even the common talk of men, though they may be as unconscious of the fact as Monsieur Jourdain was that he had been employing prose all his life, is often ethical; that is to say, is a discussion of human character, an appreciation of motives, an apportioning of praise or blame for the right or the wrong of certain acts. Scandal itself, unlovely as it is, appeals to those moral sentiments which it is the business of Ethics to interpret and to vindicate.

Nor can any more important task be undertaken by the most highly gifted intellect than the vindication of the moral sense of mankind. As regards individuals, erroneous theory may be, and often is, accompanied by a life untainted by flagrant error, while, on the other hand, it is not always certain that 'Do-well will follow thought,'¹ even where the Ancient Sage's injunction 'Think well' is obeyed. But to sow broadcast in society the wind of moral error is the sure prelude to reaping the whirlwind of social crime. Such a remark might have been deemed almost superfluous at any previous period of the world's history. But in our day theories are put forward subversive of the most elementary principles of morality, theories degrading to man and threatening to the very life of civilization;² and concurrently with the spread of these pernicious doctrines, the outbreaks of Socialistic violence in various quarters of the civilized world furnish us with the clearest practical warnings of the danger of tampering with the sacredness of moral obligation.

We welcome Dr. Martineau's noble contribution to the defence of the time-honoured and elevating conviction with respect to Duty, which regards it as the path Divinely ordained for man to tread, an ascending path illumined by rays which proceed from Infinite Goodness, and which lead those who tread that path into nearer and nearer likeness to that Divine Perfection. By this work Dr. Martineau has placed himself in the front rank of the exponents of moral philo-

¹ 'An Ancient Sage,' by Lord Tennyson, in *Tiresias and other Poems*.

² See, for example, the article on 'The Woman Question,' in the *Westminster Review* for last January.

sophy. From the first page to the last, the reader feels that he is in the hands of a master. For lucidity of exposition, for wealth and appositeness of illustration, for elevation of thought and of language, as well as for the solidity of the arguments by which the fallacies of deadly error are exposed, and truths of incalculable importance maintained, the *Types of Ethical Theory* is pre-eminently valuable.

The limits of space will prevent our noticing more than a few salient points, but we must not pass over the Preface, which, unlike most prefaces, is both interesting and instructive. Many of the points which are there mentioned receive fuller treatment in the body of the work. We shall, therefore, not confine ourselves in the next few paragraphs to the Preface itself, but interweave with the personal matter remarks on some of the most important topics of the book.

In the Preface the author sketches the mental process by which he arrived at his present standpoint. It is the reverse of that process which has swelled the ranks of unbelieving materialism during the past few decades. He is not one of those who, starting with the belief that phenomena, and more particularly moral phenomena, proclaim the existence of a Divine Ruler, whose power and wisdom and goodness they partially reveal, have surrendered this precious faith at the challenge of materialistic philosophy. His course has been in the opposite direction. He had been trained in early youth for the profession of civil engineer, but as he drew towards manhood the interest of moral and metaphysical questions asserted the mastery over him. To the solution of such questions he brought the store of exclusively scientific conceptions acquired in that previous training; nor did his college teachers suggest the inadequacy of those conceptions for such a purpose. He says:—

‘I had nothing to take with me into logical and ethical problems but the maxims and postulates of physical knowledge; and as the instructions of the philosophical class-room, excellent of their kind, moved strictly within the same limits, I was inevitably shut up in the habit of interpreting the human phenomena by the analogy of external nature.’¹

A willing disciple, he imbibed the doctrines of Locke, who, it may be remembered, derived all knowledge from sense; of Hartley, the father of those who reduce psychology to a province of physiology; of Collins, of Priestley, of Bentham, the utilitarian moralist, and his followers James and John Stuart

¹ See *Types of Ethical Theory*, Preface.

Mill. As he looks back upon this period of his life, it is with a smile of amusement at his own expense that he confesses the tone of plump assurance with which he used to proclaim the doctrines of the school; and though he modestly allows that the fault may have been personal to himself, yet his description may well pass for the family portraiture of some modern followers of Epicurean doctrine, as well as of the ancient Epicurean who was wont to enounce his views with the air of one freshly arrived from the council of the gods. At any rate, Dr. Martineau's candid self-portraiture exactly indicates the line of cleavage that separates all philosophy that is worthy of the name from mere materialism.

'So self-evident,' he says, 'appeared the maxims of mechanical causality . . . that in my heart I deemed it blindness if anyone professed a different vision from my own, and never suspected that it might be due to a far-sightedness which reached a zone beyond, and fetched in the lights of other relations. It is no wonder, then, that, in skimming over my notes of work in those distant years, I seem to be communing with some tight-swathed logical prig in whose jerky confidence and angular mimicry of life I am humbled to recognize the image of myself.'¹

Becoming a teacher of philosophy, he was driven to a more thorough examination of his ground, the result of which was that he became dissatisfied with the assumptions of physical science as ultimate and valid for all thought. In particular the moral consciousness rebelled against the doctrine of determinism, the exponents of which, while retaining the terms 'responsibility,' 'guilt,' 'merit,' 'duty,' really, as Dr. Martineau clearly shows in the body of his work, empty them of all meaning. 'Is there, then,' he asked, 'no *ought to be* other than *what is*?'

In this question lies the kernel of the great controversy of our time. To make this clear it may be well to expand the question. Is there not a pre-existing ideal of right in an Eternal Mind? Does not moral evolution in man mean the increasing perception and closer copying of the features of that ideal? Is not every glimpse that he obtains of those features accompanied by an imperious voice within telling him that he *ought* to aim at likeness to that ideal? Or, on the other hand, is man the first person to exist, his mind the first mind, being the product of a mindless universe, himself the

'Orphan of nothing, alone on a desolate shore,
Born of the brainless Nature, who knew not that which she bore'?

¹ See *Types of Ethical Theory*, Preface.

Is the Moral Code only a transitory set of rules which happen to survive for a moment in the process of evolution because they happen to be (or, still more precarious, happen to be thought) advantageous in the struggle for existence? Is conscience only the echo of the voice of society, expressing the 'tribal' approval or disapproval of what the tribe deems beneficial or harmful to the social organism?

Is there no ought to be other than what is? It will be seen that if there is none, then Ethics belongs to the same group of Natural Sciences as geology or chemistry. Moreover, it is undeniable that for thousands of years conscience has been believed to speak in the name of a 'higher than we,' and has derived its power in the world from this belief. It is therefore not likely that much of this power will long survive the discovery that conscience is only the reflection of the self-interested cries of other men. 'Ought' in fact becomes an unmeaning word, and writers who wish to be logical will cease to employ it. As Bentham says, 'if the use of the word be admissible at all, it "ought" to be banished from the vocabulary of morals.'¹ But there are other cumberers of the ground besides the word 'ought.' It will have companions in exile. Free-will must go, for it implies the power in a man to choose a course of action that simply recommends itself to him on the ground that he 'ought' to do so. 'Responsibility' must go; for how can a man be held responsible for his action when there was no path of duty which he 'ought' to have taken, and when he had no power of choice? 'Merit' must share the same fate. At least, as Dr. Martineau proves in reply to Mr. Leslie Stephen and others, these terms can only continue to be employed if they no longer bear the same sense as heretofore. For the details of the argument we must refer the reader to the *Types of Ethical Theory*, and quote here only the conclusion:—

'The simple fact is that the conceptions of "merit" and of "responsibility" are strictly relative to the assumption or consciousness of Free-will, and only in the light of this assumption do they admit of any consistent interpretation. You may certainly invent new meanings for the words which you dispossess of the old ones. You may employ "merit" to signify the human quality which you praise because your praise may enhance it; and "responsibility" to denote the fact that "for such and such acts you will smart"; but as the terms thus become a fresh coinage with values changed they will not work in with the currency, of which they have hitherto formed a part.'²

¹ See *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. ii. p. 283.

² *Ibid.* p. 82.

The conclusion which Bentham candidly avowed, the later writers of the determinist school, with more of ingenuity than of ingenuousness, or perhaps of logical acumen, seek to evade. As samples of the ethical doctrine provided for general consumption in this country and in France in the form of concise manuals, we have placed in the list of works at the head of this article *The Springs of Conduct* and *La Morale*. Both deny the freedom of the will. To what conclusion this denial leads will be evident from the following remarks by the English moralist:—

'How can we regard a man as responsible for his actions if they are simply the outcome of his character or disposition, over the formation of which he had no control? Let us note clearly what the real question here is. It is not whether a man is to be held responsible for his acts; for as a matter of practical fact on this head we are all agreed. The question is whether it is just that he should have this responsibility forced upon him. It is really a question of abstract justice. Is it just that I should suffer for that which I cannot help? To this question I can give no answer, for I hold it to be an illegitimate one. Nature is neither just nor unjust. But whether just or not it is an inexorable fact. The moth which loves the light is urged by a dominant instinct to self-destruction in the candle-flame.'¹

Our remarks upon this argument must necessarily be very brief, but it may be well to point out the fallacy in it. The writer, it will be seen, retains the word 'responsible,' but only in the sense that if you do not do so and so, we will make you smart for it. Yet he has a notion of what he calls 'abstract justice,' and this admission is fatal to his theory. For if man has any knowledge of abstract justice, he is by the knowledge itself removed from the category of that nature which is neither just nor unjust. He is a responsible being in the higher sense. He knows a law in accordance with which he ought to govern his disposition, and consequently his disposition is no more the sole determinant of his actions than the centrifugal force is the sole determinant of the direction in which the planets move.

But to return to Dr. Martineau's autobiographical sketch. The question which he asked himself proved the turning point in his mental career. Enough has been already said to indicate the reasons why he could not accept the negative answer. With the affirmative he accepts the imperative character of 'duty' along with its necessary condition, the free-will of man. Now duty is invested to him with 'authority.' Whence comes this authority? We gather his answer from one of the most

¹ See *The Springs of Conduct*, p. 280.

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important chapters in the work, that in which he discusses various conflicting views on the 'nature of moral authority.' Is it reasonable to argue with Bentham that because 'the authority first turns up in my own consciousness, it is manufactured there'? Is Bentham right in regarding the 'moral-sense man' as a sort of bully who would palm his 'ipse dixit' upon mankind? Certainly not. For, as Dr. Martineau points out, the moralist must have felt the power within himself which he wields against others. And what sort of a picture does this suggest?

'Does he manage himself by putting on domineering airs towards his own inclinations, and approaching them with some spurious *bâton* of police, which is but a painted stick of his own fancy? Does he like to slap his own likings in the face and amuse himself with despotisms of which he is himself the first victim?'¹

Dr. Martineau clearly proves that the notion of a merely 'subjective' apprehension of the authority with which moral dictates are invested is as untenable as would be the notion of a merely subjective apprehension of mathematical truths.

To proceed at once to Dr. Martineau's own answer as to the source of that authority which he has shown to be objective. 'If,' he says—and we adopt his words—'the sense of authority means anything, it means the discerning of something *higher than we*, having claims on our *self*, therefore no mere part of it.' That 'higher than I' must be a *person*, for 'what am I? A *person*,' than whom no *thing* can be higher. But we must be allowed to quote another sentence or two:—

'In the absence of society or human companionship we are thus still held in the presence of One having moral affinity with us, yet solemn rights over us; by retiring into ourselves we find that we are transported out of ourselves, and placed beneath the light of a diviner countenance. . . . The faculty (of conscience) is more than part and parcel of myself; it is the communion of God's life and guiding love entering and abiding with an apprehensive capacity in myself.'²

But to conclude the account of Dr. Martineau's escape from his bondage. During a sojourn in Germany, and in consequence of further study, the deliverance thus happily begun in regard to the moral side of life was completed in regard also to the ideas of the beautiful and the true. 'The metaphysics of the world had come home' to him, and never again could he say 'that phenomena in their clusters and chains were all.' The right, the beautiful, and the true—these are the

¹ See *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. ii. p. 96.

² *Ibid.* p. 97.

three great realities towards which the heart of man is drawn. We are glad to find them thus grouped together by Dr. Martineau. We have long been convinced that they can be only maintained to be realities attainable by man when all three are so regarded. They occupy, with some mutual overlapping, the three provinces of human activity which chiefly distinguish man from the brute, the provinces of religion, of art, and of science, and it is suicidal for the votary of any one of them to deny the importance or the right to exist of any other. Nor, on the other hand, must they be confounded. For the human mind there are three distinct species of knowledge, apprehended by as many distinct faculties, or modes of activity, of our mental nature—the intellectual, the moral, and the æsthetic. Attempts have been made to reduce the three species of knowledge to unity, to prove, for example, that morality is identical with good taste, or, again, that the *right* is only another name for the *true*. But no such attempted verification of moral principles will stand the test of criticism. To say, for instance, that by killing a man I should go against reason and deny that which is true because I should deny him to be a man, is to use a mere verbal quibble, as Mr. Leslie Stephen acutely points out.¹ Mr. Stephen has no difficulty in showing that the 'moral Euclid' is unsatisfactory. We are in full agreement with Dr. Martineau's assertion that the three species of knowledge which we have specified are distinct, and that when the ultimate principles of all are gathered in presence of each other, 'no logical hammer, though worked by a Vulcan, can make a chain of them all, or give primacy to one.'

Ethical systems are primarily divided by Dr. Martineau into two great classes, which almost correspond with a division into systems that have not felt the influence of Christianity, and those which have felt it. To the first division belong all those systems which start from the world outside, which first attempt to portray the scheme of the universe, and only after this is done turn the mental glance inward to discover how the moral and mental constitution of man fits into the sum of things. Such systems Dr. Martineau styles unpsychological. To the second division belong all systems which start from what is in man, and then proceed to carry such light as may have been gained by this introspection to the examination of the universe, the macrocosm. These are psychological, and are peculiar to Christianity.

¹ See *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii., 'The Intellectual School.'

It may be objected to this method of classification that the Evolutionary ethics, which, as everyone knows, attempt to explain the genesis of morals from unmoral conditions, and in fact link the moral phenomena to the physical in one unbroken chain of causality, do not belong exclusively either to one division or the other.¹ It may also be said that there is something artificial in a classification which brings side by side such widely different systems as the Transcendental theory of Plato and the Physical theory of Comte. But the classification is valuable as fixing the mind on the two different starting-points of thought, however diverse the goals may be, and as vividly illustrating the effect of Christianity in the mental sphere.

This effect of the Incarnation and of Christ's teaching is one that is liable to be overlooked, for the simple reason that it is below the surface. Christianity has wrought many marvels in human life; it has altered the course of history; it has developed sympathy; it has alleviated suffering; it has ameliorated existence in a thousand ways: but none of these effects are so remarkable as that one which has been the parent of most of them—the reversal of the direction of human thought. 'The kingdom of God is within you,'² said our Blessed Lord, and straightway the eye of thought was turned inward. Whereas the ancient thinker was so entranced and absorbed by the glory and the mystery of the universe that his primary effort was to explain its scheme, while his interest in humanity was quite secondary, and his account of man came only as a corollary to his account of the universe, the contrary process has predominated ever since. Modern man has indeed studied the order of nature with a success of which the older inquirer never dreamed, but he has found that if the vast problems of the universe are at all capable of solution, if its purpose can be deciphered, if the motive underlying its laws can be detected, if the character of its government can be portrayed, the key to these august problems is in himself. And if in our day some would forbid us to employ any *data* gained from the inspection of human nature as the witness to aught beyond; if any stigmatize as anthropomorphic or anthropocentric the doctrine that the human conscience proclaims the moral government of the world, or that man's idea

¹ This is Dr. Martineau's view. Our own is that the Evolutionary Ethics are a forced prolongation into the psychological domain of the line of evolution presumed to have been already traced in the mindless universe. It is not the Ethics that colour the world, but the dark world that throws its shadow upon the Ethics.

² Luke xvii. 21.

of righteousness witnesses to the perfect righteousness of God, they have to confess that the universe itself has no glory at all except in connexion with the mind of man. So much was confessed by Comte himself, when in his shocking parody of the Psalmist's words, he asserted that the only glory which the heavens declare is *that of Newton and Laplace*.

In the first volume of the *Types of Ethical Theory* the author sketches and criticizes the philosophical systems of Plato, Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza, and Comte. To the handling of each he brings deep sympathy with all noble thought, while he respectfully, but effectively, exposes what seems to him fallacious.

Thus with all his admiration for the grandeur of Plato's genius, with all his allowance for the possibility of having sometimes misunderstood him, he exhibits in their true light the revolting features of the ideal society sketched by that philosopher; for example, the abolition of the institution of the family. Those glaring defects in Plato's system would never, we may be well assured, have found a place there if he had felt the influence of our Blessed Lord's teaching. But he had not learnt the true dignity of man. Out of his Pantheistic philosophy had grown that feeble conception of personality which was common to all the great Hellenist teachers,¹ and which was the very antipodes of the Christian conception. Under its influence Plato regarded particular persons as mere *organs* of a common social life which was entitled to deal with them as seemed to suit itself. Against the will of the state the individual had no rights, not even the right of obeying conscience.

'To the preconceived perfection of the whole social organism everything is to give way; not the interests only of the individual, but his character; and, to be a patriot, he must be content to become, in his own person, the liar, the assassin, nay, the stock-breeder of his country.'²

Plato thought that the affection bestowed by the inmates of a home on one another was so much devotion of which the state was robbed. By extinguishing family relations he hoped to develop a disinterested enthusiasm which should be concentrated on the state. How vain was such a hope, and, if it were not so, how worthless would be the resulting commonwealth, is shown in an eloquent passage by Dr. Martineau.³ It is a noble answer to the pernicious ideas of those Socialistic

¹ See *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. i. p. 74.

² *Ibid.* p. 106.

³ *Ibid.* p. 108.

schemers of the present day, who, in their attempt to destroy the sacredness of the conjugal bond, are really going back to Plato, not for what is elevating in his doctrine, but for what is degrading.¹ With Plato it was the divinity of the state as he conceived it when it should correspond to its heavenly and purely intellectual pattern; this it was that reduced the individual to insignificance, and led the philosopher to tread under foot the feelings connected with family life. The modern secular Socialist rejects all reference to anything Divine, and simply aims at the utmost freedom for the animal nature.

As regards the subordination of the individual to the society, the particular self-denial imposed upon the ruling class, and other points, Dr. Martineau introduces comparisons between Plato's ideal state and a view of the Christian Church which he considers to have prevailed in the Middle Ages and to be still maintained by the Church of Rome. His comparisons appear to us somewhat strained, though doubtless some of his strictures on the practical working of the Christian ideal are not devoid of truth. But Dr. Martineau misses, as perhaps is not surprising, the opportunity of drawing out an ideal of the Christian Church which we venture to think was entertained by its Founder, and which is not liable to those strictures. Some remarks on the subject, however, would have been very acceptable, and, considering the intimate connexion between the ethics of the society in which a man moves and his own ideas and practice of morality, such remarks would seem quite in place in an Ethical treatise. Very probably Dr. Martineau has some justification for not entering at large upon the idea of the Church, either on the ground that he has reserved the subject of religion for future handling, or that to have done so would have involved practical ethics, and it was his intention to deal only with theoretical ethics. From our point of view, even for a complete and workable theory only of the action of the moral sense in the individual, some account of the Church as the nursery and school of virtue seems to be wanted, and if an ethical writer is able to introduce it he need not lean so hardly, as Dr. Martineau appears to us to do, upon 'intuition.' Conscience is in our view, as in Dr. Martineau's, '*implicit feeling, brought into explicit thought*'; and he does in so many words admit that

¹ See the article on 'The Woman Question' in the *Westminster Review* for last January. Among the social arrangements anticipated and desired by the writers is not 'facility of divorce,' but *the absence of any need for divorce*. We need say no more.

'the presence of others is indispensable to the development of the moral side of our nature,'¹ and, again, that 'it seems as if a feeling was never understood till acted out in open day and flung into shape upon the air.'² He speaks, moreover, of 'the true type of humanity'³ as having been 'given' (by God, as we must understand him). Yet we nowhere find in his pages what seems to us the corollary of these truths. The Church of Christ does not figure there as the community Divinely formed for exhibiting that true type of humanity, and training individuals into conformity to it.

The chief defect in Dr. Martineau's book appears to us, then, to be the omission from its pages of the conception of the Church as a Divinely constituted organism instinct with a special life of its own. In dealing with Evolutionary Ethics he dwells upon the relation of the individual to the social organism of the race, and he has subsequently an eloquent, though brief, description of the Church as he conceives it,⁴ that is to say, as simply the outcome of human aspiration for an ideal society. But his whole system is essentially built upon the powers and capacities of the individual, and, as we have already suggested, he seems to us to attribute a great deal more to 'intuition' in the individual than can be maintained.

In this connexion it may be remarked that, so far as we can see, there is a total omission in Dr. Martineau's book of the claims of authority and of the duty of obedience. Yet even as a matter of psychology no classification of sentiments can be considered complete that ignores the impulse to obey authority. Our first quotation from Dr. Martineau furnishes an illustration of what appears to us defective, and also of his exaggeration of the power of intuition. In the case of the child overcome by the temptations of the jam-closet, we saw that he referred the subsequent distress to self-reproach on account of violated integrity. This way of accounting for it may in some cases be partially true, though intuition alone, without the memory of the eighth commandment, would hardly open the child's eyes to his guilt. But how far it is true, or whether in a particular case it is true at all, will surely depend much upon the intelligence of the child. Most persons, however, will agree (at least, so we are inclined to think) that the sense of outrage offered to revered authority will invariably be an element of the child's distress.

Authority and obedience are evidently important facts in

¹ See *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. ii. p. 28.

² *Ibid.* p. 29.

³ *Ibid.* p. 112.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 375.

relation to childhood. Have the words no meaning also for persons of maturer years?

We venture to express the hope that ere long some competent writer may take up the subject of the Christian Church in relation to Ethics and incorporate in his exposition all that can be fairly held to be established by modern science. One or two remarks of a general nature to which we are led by Plato's conception may here perhaps be permitted.

Man is a social animal. To this commonplace modern science has given a much deeper meaning than it formerly possessed. The individual man is obviously dependent on his fellow men as regards his material and even, to a certain point, his intellectual life. In various ways he must be considered literally a part of an organism, not an isolated unit. And this organism is not confined to one generation of human beings. Each generation is the outcome of the previous generation. Each man, according to the doctrine of heredity, is linked by a multitude of transmitted qualities with his ancestors. Former generations have made us what we are, and we are making the generations to come.

Now this organism of humanity is capable of progressive development. It does not remain stationary. It is of course an axiom with believers in God that, though no breach of natural law may startle us, Divine power can and does mould it in accordance with His own purpose.

To start with, then, a certain communion and fellowship exists between men, and a plasticity of nature in humanity as a whole, which fits it for progressive improvement.

Now, these being the facts, what is the first postulate for an ideal society founded on this basis? For it is on the basis of natural elements or laws, themselves originated by Divine power, that those further effects are produced which are sometimes called supernatural. The idea is familiar enough in the writings of the greatest religious teachers. What, then, we ask, is the first postulate? Surely none other than this. The society must provide the means for the fullest possible development of the spiritual and moral life of each individual. The highest interests of the individual must not be sacrificed to any imaginary good of the whole or of other individuals. In point of fact, it is only by securing the improvement of the individual nature that the progressive improvement of the race will be secured. To human apprehension the leaven may work slowly, but, by the principle of heredity, the amelioration effected in the individuals of one generation will not die with them, but will produce an effect on those which follow.

The object, then, for which the society will exist will be to provide the most favourable conditions for fostering and developing the germs of moral excellence in individuals, and thus bringing the race into ever nearer conformity with the Divine ideal. But it will also recognize the original and natural communion of humanity, and will add to it the holy consecration of a special communion and fellowship between its own members. It will be 'one body' having 'one spirit' and acknowledging 'one Lord, one faith.' The majesty and the authority of the whole can never be disputed, and, apart from the life of that spiritual organism, the individual can have no spiritual life at all.

This we believe to be the doctrine of Christ and of His Apostles. To the ordinary Protestant view the individual is isolated. The vital necessity of belonging to the organic whole is denied. The individual soul is regarded as standing alone under the eyes of its Maker, who, however, supplies all its spiritual wants, partly by an inward and direct communication, and partly by placing the Bible in the man's hands; and though, for convenience, for comfort and cheerfulness' sake, he may join with others who happen to interpret the Bible as he does, and may form with them a company to be called a Church, there is no necessity for his doing anything of the kind. Even ordinances are not really necessary. Spiritual communion with Christ is enough.¹

We must not linger upon this topic, and will therefore only add that, in the present state of literary, scientific, and historical criticism, he who believes in the Divine organism of the Christian Church can look on with the utmost calmness while men explore the architecture, so to say, of the Bible. He recognizes, indeed, a Divine voice in that priceless Book, even the same voice that speaks to himself in his conscience—the voice of that Spirit which is the life of the Church. But his faith is not bound up with the date, or the authorship, or the scientific accuracy of the Pentateuch. Whatever the ultimate verdict on such questions, he will not be tempted to surrender one iota of the Catholic Creed. He will feel himself to be resting upon an unassailable rock while the ground on which the individualist is standing is absolutely crumbling away under his feet.

The unpsychological theories are divided by Dr. Martineau

¹ Of course we do not deny the reality and sufficiency of spiritual communion in the case allowed by the Church *for her members*, any more than we deny the direct communication of Divine help to the individual soul.

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into 'metaphysical,' or those which begin with assuming real eternal entities, and thence descend into the human world, and 'physical,' or those which exclude all reference to aught beyond phenomena and their laws. Of the metaphysical theories, again, there are two divisions. To the first division belong those which regard God as above, beyond, and in some sense independent of, the universe. This is the transcendental view, and of it Plato is the most prominent example. The other division is Immanent. In the theories of this class, God and the universe are regarded as co-extensive—as, in fact, eventually identified. Spinoza is the completest example of the teachers who have followed this line of thought, but Dr. Martineau sketches the systems of Descartes and Malebranche, in order to show how they paved the way for Spinoza.

These immanent schemes owe their birth to an attempt of the human mind to solve a problem which we regard as insoluble, viz. *how* the finite and the infinite can exist together. We have not the same objection to the term 'immanent' as applied to God which Dr. Martineau entertains. We say with the Apostle, 'In Him we live and move and have our being.' We agree with the German metaphysician, Lotze, in holding that there is only one underived Being, who is the source of all the energy that finite beings are permitted to employ. With Lotze, however, we must go on to conceive of the world as

'called into existence by God: not continuing within the inner life of God as an eternal activity of his Being, but entering on an existence of its own, as a product which detaches itself from Him in an independence scarcely to be defined.'¹

But it is just this independent co-existence of the finite and the infinite that is denied by the 'immanent' philosophers, with what inconsistency is clearly shown by Dr. Martineau. Thus, with regard to the soul, Malebranche declares that we have absolute assurance by self-consciousness of its existence as a reality. Whereupon Dr. Martineau pertinently asks, 'How is it possible, after thus setting it up as a known separate entity, to cancel its status and hand over its contents to another subject'² or mind? And with regard to the asserted identity of our love with God's love,

'We have only,' he says, 'to ask the question whether, if we love and He loves, there are two lovers or one, and we shall realize the contradiction which the assertion involves: especially in considering

¹ See Lotze's *System of Philosophy*, pt. ii. 'Metaphysic,' p. 139.

² See *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. i. p. 201.

that, if there be only one, the apparent mutuality of affection is an illusion, and the forthcoming love is thrown back into self-love, *i.e.* ceases to be love at all.¹

If it be asked what connexion there is between this erroneous philosophy and the subject with which we are concerned, *viz.* Ethics, the answer is clear. The result of Pantheism, if for a moment we leave out of view the determinism involved, is, as it is well put by Mr. Leslie Stephen, to introduce God on both sides of the equation: so that the murderer's impulse towards the crime becomes equally Divine with the pleadings of conscience against it. Thus Ethics becomes a house divided against itself. But determinism, as Spinoza perceived, logically follows from Pantheism, as, indeed, it follows equally from Atheistic materialism. Here the extremes meet. Where with Spinoza you encounter 'absolute decrees' which have immutably settled from all eternity every event in the universe, every apparent volition, every act, there with the materialist you meet invariable mechanical laws. The result is precisely the same in both cases: the conception of Duty is entirely destroyed. The following remarks, in which Dr. Martineau sums up the result on Ethics of Spinoza's Pantheism, will equally apply to the determinism which is too often the fundamental article of the creed of the modern scientist. According to either,

'Man is an automaton, and nothing can be demanded from him except that which from moment to moment he will unfailingly produce. The automaton, indeed, if it be out of order, may be mended, provided the neighbouring automata are so constructed and wound up as to get hold of it, and carry the proper tools for opening its inside, and rubbing off its rust, and oiling its joints and rivetting its broken springs: but it can no more mend itself than it can wind itself up. The extension of a mechanical theory of nature to the human mind is necessarily fatal to their moral aspect and pretensions, and brings the whole world under the domain of Physics. . . . In such a universe, all things that are have equal right to be; except, indeed, our approval of them, or disapproval, which alone are out of place.'²

The final notice in Dr. Martineau's first volume is devoted to Comte. We pass reluctantly over his very interesting sketch of the Frenchman's life and powerful refutation of the fallacies of Positivism, whether as a philosophy or a religion. It must suffice to say of Comte's scheme for hastening the advent of that happy time when altruism shall have dethroned

¹ See *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. i. p. 202.

² *Ibid.* p. 360.

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selfishness, and the demons of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness shall be banished from the world, that, as Dr. Martineau clearly shows, the Positivist doctrine neither contains any psychological law enabling the weak sympathetic instincts to master the stronger egoistic, nor any moral ground for the assertion that they *ought* to do so.¹

Of psychological theories, or those which take their start from the facts of man's mind and heart, one school, the idiosyncratic, regards the moral intuition as a fundamental and original fact. It does not attempt to go below or behind the sense of right, the feeling expressed by the word 'ought,' or to resolve them into something else, whether it be individual pleasure or social good. From what has been said above it will be readily perceived that Dr. Martineau is an uncompromising advocate of intuitive morals. The exposition of his system occupies about one-half of his second volume, and a large part of it is devoted to setting forth the hierarchy of our impulses or springs of action. The moral quality of our lives consists in choosing between conflicting impulses, and while in other schools it is maintained that we actually make our choice, or ought to do so, according as the balance of prospective advantage is on this side or that, in Dr. Martineau's view, and, we may add, in ours, we ought, and we feel that we ought, to make our choice with our eyes fixed on 'moral worth' and our hearts aspiring towards it.

On the details of Dr. Martineau's doctrine we make no further comment than to repeat that, amongst the natural impulses which actually play an important part in human life, is that of deference towards personal authority. This impulse is planted in man for good, and we believe that many modern evils have arisen from the fact that it has lost some of its rightful influence. Authority is in our view a sacred thing, a thing of Divine origin,² whether in the household, the Church, or the State, and though in all three it may be liable to abuse, yet it cannot be impaired without mischief to the fabric of which it forms an important part. Except, however, in regard to respect or reverence for superior excellence, we find in Dr. Martineau's pages no account of personal authority or of its correlate, the feeling of deference.

¹ *Ib.* See *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. i. p. 468.

² That, in the Mosaic scheme, human authority is not only of Divine origin, but is actually the delegated authority of God Himself, is strikingly exhibited when we regard, as in all likelihood we ought to regard, the fifth commandment as closing the first table, instead of introducing the second table, of the Decalogue.

Of Dr. Martineau's doctrine as a whole we are not quite sure whether it does not make rather too much of the *relative* nature of right conduct, instead of bringing into clear prominence the uniformity of the rule of right.

After the statement of his own doctrine Dr. Martineau proceeds to criticize with great vigour various alternative doctrines. Dealing with Utilitarian Hedonism, he shows that from 'each for himself' there is no available road to 'each for all'; so that, ethically considered, the Hedonist has no foundation for his doctrine, or rather he has no motive power to set his machine at work. The doctrine of Evolution does not help Hedonism out of its difficulties. Nay, as Dr. Martineau shows in dealing with Mr. Herbert Spencer, any doctrine of evolution which only admits mechanical causation is clogged with insuperable difficulties of its own.

In the last portion of the work Dr. Martineau deals with theories that found their chief exponents in the last century, the Dianoetic Ethics of Cudworth, Clarke, and Price, and the Æsthetic Ethics of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. The first of these schools, if we may use the term, maintains that we approve the *right* because it is *true*, thus making moral action identical with intellectual. The second confounds it with æsthetic. In both Dr. Martineau finds much with which he can sympathize, but as against the former he is compelled to show that Reason has done all it can do, when it has seen things as they are. It can no more 'transform them into what they had better be' than 'an academy of sciences' can 'quell a rebellion.'¹ The weakness of the æsthetic school may be inferred from the fact that the leaders of it do not consistently cleave to its distinctive principle, but at one moment identify right with benevolence, at another with the beautiful, 'much as the Greeks melted the *καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν* into one conception, and almost into one word.'²

Many points remain on which we would gladly have touched, but our limits are exhausted. We therefore conclude with an expression of hearty gratitude to Dr. Martineau for his eloquent and powerful defence of very much that we hold in common with him—defence, perhaps, all the more likely to be influential on the side of what we will call orthodox ethics, because it comes from one who holds so independent a position.

¹ See *Types of Ethical Theory*, vol. ii. p. 446.

² *Ibid.* p. 448.

ART. IX.—THE HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION.

The History of Interpretation, being the Bampton Lectures for 1885. By the Ven. Archdeacon F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. (London, 1886.)

THERE are few things so vitally important to the spiritual life, whether of individuals or churches, as a true theory of the Interpretation of Scripture. Even if we were to resign the position held by all Christendom for so many ages, that the Bible is a unique book, we should still have to admit that it holds a unique position. It has been the charter, and at the same time the constitution, of an organization which has completely remodelled the face of Europe; and, besides this, it has been a resource and a centre of hope and consolation to countless individual souls. And it has been all this by its own inherent force, helped no doubt by circumstances, but by circumstances under the weight of which it must inevitably have broken down, had it failed to respond to the claims made upon it. And so it is that it is necessary to interpret it. The various books of which it is composed were written under widely different circumstances, and for readers of various kinds; and we in our use of the Bible, as a whole, differ widely from any of those to whom it first came. To us it is a spiritual inheritance wherein we find spiritual food to suit our varying spiritual needs. This, at any rate, in our day, is its primary use. But this very fact makes it clear that, uninterpreted, it would be useless except for purposes of historical or antiquarian knowledge. We might learn by a study of the facts it describes something of the history of the Jewish people, their religion, and mode of life. Compared with other sacred books, it might become a valuable help towards a just appreciation of the phenomena of the religious consciousness, but these we are content to regard as secondary uses of it. In the case of the Bible, as with no other sacred book, we are prepared to recognize the justness of its claim to be inspired, to be the medium of a revelation not otherwise to be obtained. It is on this ground that it stands to us in a wholly unique relation. To enter upon the whole question of Inspiration is widely distant from our present purpose, but it is important to notice at the outset that any Theory of Interpretation we may adopt stands in close relation to our Theory

of Inspiration. For the most part, we can discuss them singly, but we must not forget that they are not finally separable.

If we take, then, any ordinary book not of our time—Thucydides, let us say, or Tacitus—how do we interpret it? Surely we have no hesitation about the answer. First of all, we learn the language in which our author wrote. And not only this, the more nearly we wish to realize his meaning, the more must we endeavour to change it from a dead into a living language. We must resuscitate it, it must live over again in our thoughts; we must endeavour to feel some of the subtle associations which lie round his words—to understand, for instance, his choice of one rather than another of two words apparently synonymous. So, again, when the language he has used employs different forms and methods in order to express thoughts, we must endeavour to enter into them and realize them. We can never fully do all this, but we may rise to a high degree of success. This is the work of scholarship, and it explains the reason why men are able to spend a lifetime in the study of a language; their increasing knowledge only shows them how much more there is to know. But even if the work of scholarship were done, our task would not yet be completed. The writings of an author, especially of an historical author, teem with ideas which are to him full of history and life. Wide knowledge of a language will teach us much of the meaning of words; but, after all, the words of a dead language are symbolic of a past life, and until we can laboriously build up our knowledge of that life into something like a concrete form—until the historical imagination can reproduce to us the past as in some sense living and real, we cannot enter into the meaning of our author: he and his language will remain dead to us. Of course, we cannot but admit that this is an ideal, and one which we can never in its fullest sense attain, but that some degree of success of this kind is necessary if we would enter into his mind is plain from the following reasons. A contemporary history is to the men for whom it is written like a series of photographs of some body in motion. It catches a succession of impressions and fixes them, and those in whom the pulse of the life described is beating, know the outlines far too well ever to think of the history as the flat, colourless, lifeless sketch it is; they supply the warmth and flush of life on the instant. The same will be possible to us just so far as we make the past life our own, so that our thoughts answer without hesitation to the suggestions in the history. Or, again, let us think how we interpret a philosophic work; there the problem is somewhat more complex. We

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have not only to ascertain the meaning of the author's terms, and the associations they had for him; we have to learn the way in which his thought worked upon his life, the forms of thought which his life suggested to him. It is a common remark that the questions of philosophy are always the same; the particular answer depends much on the particular form of life within which the questions have arisen. This much is always true, that no philosophy is intelligible without the life to which it belongs. Interpretation, then, in these regions, is always reconstruction. But this is only one part of the process. In the other part we have the advantage of those whose history and literature we study. There is a continuous process of development between their life and ours. In spite of all the differences, our life and theirs are yet ultimately one thing. Our interests in politics or philosophy may be spread over a wider range, but they have one and the same purpose. Only we have this advantage over them, that just because it is later and fuller, our life explains much that must have been obscure or wholly unintelligible to them, just as we in our day look to the future to explain our own difficulties. Our response to difficulties which press us is made easier by the knowledge of the action of people long since dead, in the face of questions like our own. History is for ever repeating itself, but always in different forms. So it is clear that we must always fail to understand the past: first, if we make no effort to live in it; secondly, if we refuse to regard it as essentially one with our own life. And this result, let it be observed, has been obtained absolutely within the lines of what we call secular knowledge. No one who makes any claim to breathe the modern spirit would refuse to acknowledge that interpretation must always proceed in some such way as this. Nor is it, for the matter of that, at all alien to the ideas of ancient writers of history. The well-known statement by Thucydides¹ of the purpose and value of his book expresses exactly the same idea. The future will probably resemble the past, he says in effect, and therefore an accurate knowledge of the past will be useful. Nothing could be clearer than this, nothing more obvious when clearly stated.

Let us now turn to Scripture, and first to the Old Testament. Here we find a far more complex conception of life before us. There is still the same kind of political life going on as in other kinds of literature; we can trace the working of various political or other interests. Kings reign and fall,

¹ *Thuc. i. 22.*

make war and peace, enter into treaties, and perform all the other functions of the head of a state. Their history, then, so far as it is thus political, may be interpreted to our minds by exactly the same processes as we have just now mentioned. They are more difficult, perhaps, but that is because they are more remote. In this sense the Bible is treated like any other book. But there is another side to the history as set forth in the Old Testament, viz. the spiritual side. History in the Bible has a double interest and meaning, or rather the political interest with which we are familiar has received a new meaning by being taken up into a spiritual order. The order of events which we see before us is relative to a spiritual order which we do not see. To this invisible order a fuller reality belongs than to the visible, because the invisible and spiritual order is truly and really expressed in the visible material order. The prophet is he to whom this spiritual order is real in a far higher sense than the other. The facts of life express to him at once truths of a spiritual kind. He does not imply that this world is nothing but a show or sham ; but he does insist that it is inadequately explained in terms of its own order. If his prophecies were merely able leading articles on the political events, written with a power of unusual foresight, it might be true to say that theology, so far at any rate as it is concerned with the interpretation of prophecy, would be simply 'grammar applied to the words of the Holy Spirit.' But it need hardly be said that such an account of prophecy is wholly one-sided and inadequate. It does not account for the burning moral interest, the acute sense of moral responsibility in political action, the absolute certainty of judgment, which are such well-known characteristics of the prophets. It does not account for these, we say, because on this rationalistic principle these facts have to be explained as strange exaggerations ; it is not a theory in which they naturally fall into their place. And the reason why it fails is the reason we have given for all failure in interpretation. It is an attempt to interpret a life and a form of thought with which such an interpreter has no sympathy, and there is no reason why such a method should be successful here rather than elsewhere. Life to the prophet has this double aspect, and is capable of a double interpretation, and we entirely miss the meaning of his words and his own historical significance if we treat him in this way. M. Renan has said that criticism can only come from a mind which has once believed that which it criticizes ; it may be so, but such criticism will never interpret. So much, then, is clear, that in dealing with the Old Testament, and indeed with any

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history from a spiritual point of view, the double aspect of life requires a double method of interpretation. It is, of course, conceivable that the spiritual significance of an event or period may coincide with the political; but this will only be possible when spiritual aims are allowed to govern political aims, in fact when the affairs of the State are conducted by some one who is spiritually enlightened. If, then, our point be admitted—and it is difficult to see how it can be doubted—that events have a spiritual significance not necessarily coincident with, but no less real than, their political significance, in some sense or other the history which describes them is capable of mystical interpretation. We do not for a moment deny the value and interest of any attempts to develop the political bearings of the history of Ancient Israel, but we do say that this does not exhaust its meaning; there must be a spiritual significance to that, and indeed to any history whatsoever, so long as we hold to the belief at all that God acts in human life as well as in nature. The ultimate justification of this belief as regards God, as well as the question of the exact form which this spiritual illumination took in the minds of the prophets, though important and interesting points, are not immediately relevant here.

But we shall be told that by this position we have opened the door to such an endless stream of various and eccentric interpretations that they will all become practically valueless. Every sentence, it will be urged, has one meaning and one only; once admit the fatal principle of a spiritual or mystical interpretation beyond that which can be obtained by the aid of grammar and lexicon and similar books, and you have at once committed yourself, at any rate, to the possibility of the wild extravagances of exegesis which have resulted from the use of the *multiplex intelligentia*. To answer this objection we must take the New Testament into consideration and enquire how far any general principles can be obtained from it. Now, in S. Paul—to take one instance only—we find a disposition to explain the history of the past by reference to Christ, and especially to His Death and Resurrection; the true meaning of the various events is brought out by this connexion. Yet while there is no mistaking his attitude on this point, he never neglects the facts. It is because they are real and historical that he is able to give them their spiritual meaning. God moves and works in history as it is, and it is through it, as actual and concrete, that we are able to discern some suggestions as to His Purpose. This is why the Life and Death of Christ supplies a key to history; it is because it realizes the

hope on which the faith of the prophets fed, and so lifts men up to a higher level of spiritual knowledge. We in our ordinary way, as pointed out above, explain past facts by the constantly developing stream of history, and this is possible in an infinitely higher degree, when the difficulty and confusion caused by the discord between natural and spiritual is removed. Then we see, as we had never before seen, the grounds of fault and failure in the past; then we look forward, as never before, with calm assurance into the future. But here a delicate question arises, one which must strongly influence our judgment on later methods of interpretation. Would S. Paul have expressed this doctrine absolutely? It is beyond dispute that he thought of the Old Testament in close relation to the New; but would he have allowed that every detail in the Old Covenant had its spiritual meaning? Or would he have rather said that the Old Covenant in its spirit was preparatory to the New; but we must not press details. These were, no doubt, largely contingent, and rose out of the historical circumstances, and, therefore, an over-anxious emphasis upon these would be derogatory to God, and tend in the direction of the traditions of Pharisaism. Of course, as S. Paul has not expressed his Theory of Interpretation definitely and in terms, we cannot say for certain how he would have answered this question, and yet it is difficult to imagine him holding quite this language, separating the several parts of the history into sections labelled Important and Unimportant, finding the spiritual meaning in a sort of *précis* of the whole, from which the details are omitted. Of course we do not for a moment imply that S. Paul would have kept the Jewish Covenant unchanged under the new Dispensation; such a contention would be absurd, but we cannot help thinking that the old order was to him an organic and living whole, and that each detail would have expressed to him one little fragment of the whole life, just because it went to make up the body. Now does not a method such as this preserve to us the right of a spiritual interpretation, while at the same time it defends us from arbitrary or extravagant exegesis? Is it not, rather, hopelessly arbitrary to rule that this or that detail is insignificant or spiritually unimportant? We do not mean to imply that a detail may be separated and made the basis of a lesson entirely alien to the whole from which it comes, but we do maintain that the details go to make up the reality of the picture, and that the spiritual meaning of the whole is rightly or wrongly appreciated according as we rightly or wrongly combine the details in our minds. The power to do this rests primarily on spiritual advancement—i.e.

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kinship with the spirit of the facts we would interpret. Just as we saw at the outset that our idea of the life of a past age is shadowy and abstract, unless we feel the unity between the past life and our own, just as details in such a case speak more clearly to us the more we know of their relation to the whole ; and, further, just as the scholar will be able to understand the choice of one rather than another of a pair of synonyms, so the interpreter of Scripture from his sympathy with its real spirit will never emphasize unduly one or another detail, but at the same time he will never suppose that an outlined sketch is all that he is called upon to provide. Literalism is useful and necessary, but not alone ; it must rest upon spiritual perception. And spiritual activity, which loses sight of the letter, is apt to become overmastered by some leading but single thought, and so lose the universality which a closer adherence to the letter, paradoxical as it may seem, would have ensured.

Remarks like these, when definitely made, seem perhaps to add very little to the general notion of Interpretation ; and, indeed, the only excuse for them must be found in the fact that people are often very shy of stating, even to themselves, the principles on which they interpret Scripture. There is often a sort of fear that the light of day may somehow injure or disturb such principles. Yet we think that the general principles are clear and valid. No one would probably now see nothing but allegory in the literal sense in the historical books for instance ; nor again, apart from those who deny the possibility or validity of Mystical Interpretation, would anyone care to deny the use of Scripture as a means of spiritual growth. So far most men are agreed. But that all men do not realize the implication of this admission is forcibly proved by a new work from the pen of Dr. Farrar, canon of Westminster. This is a publication of Lectures delivered by Dr. Farrar in 1885 in the University Church at Oxford, in accordance with the will of the Reverend John Bampton. The Lectures now appear *in extenso*, several having been considerably abridged in delivery. They are enriched with notes and appendices, and a preface explaining what we may regard as the author's developed views on the important subject of Interpretation. To say that text and notes alike are crowded with references to writers of every possible type and complexion, is only to say that the book is by Dr. Farrar. Whatever may be said of the book by way of criticism, we cannot but express sincere admiration for the painstaking and laborious care with which he has ransacked authors of every age and school in order to illustrate his subject. Dr. Farrar has

entitled his work *The History of Interpretation*, and he explains this in his preface as merely 'professing to furnish some outline of the epoch-making events of Scriptural study' (p. viii). In pursuance of this purpose he has given us an Introductory Lecture, dealing with the general aspects of his subject, and seven others, each devoted to one period in the history and illustrated by accounts of the chief names in each epoch. The first period is the Rabbinic, and here Dr. Farrar has certainly displayed wide reading and knowledge. Then follows the Alexandrian school, illustrated chiefly by an account of the Septuagint and of Philo; after this the periods follow in historical succession—the Patristic, the Scholastic, the period of the Reformation, the period immediately succeeding the Reformation, and lastly our own times. In this arrangement Dr. Farrar was strictly bound by the form which the Bampton Lecture necessarily assumes; and so far as that goes, though we cannot but think the divisions somewhat arbitrary, we cannot blame Dr. Farrar. Throughout the whole work we notice Dr. Farrar's usual eccentricities of language, which at times reach the level of bad taste, not to say irreverence. We may give one instance from p. xviii of the Preface. Dr. Farrar there remarks:—

'It is nothing short of a sin against light and knowledge—yes, I will say it boldly, it is nothing short of a sin against the Holy Ghost—to stereotype, out of the pretence of reverence, the errors of men who were not more illuminated by God's Spirit than we may be, and who in knowledge were hundreds of years behind ourselves.'

Dr. Farrar is probably thinking of those who do not care to echo his condemnations, literally and without remonstrance, and, as we are of those, we are anxious to offer certain reasons which seem to us to be of weight. We think, then, that Dr. Farrar's chief fault in these Lectures is that he lacks the historic sense. This fault comes out in various points, general and particular. We think it appears in his estimate of the various periods, and even in his treatment of exegetic details. He never seems to realize how necessary it is to have a clear conception of historical surroundings and relations before we can estimate any fact adequately as an historical phenomenon belonging to a class of phenomena which have had a history. The first Lecture we cannot here treat singly, as it embodies much that is repeated at greater length in later Lectures; nor can we pretend, within the compass of a review, to enter into all the points where we cannot help differing from Dr. Farrar.

It is needless to say that the Rabbis meet with very severe

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treatment at Dr. Farrar's hands. And still less need we say that we do not propose to adopt Rabbinical methods. But we think that here he has treated them too much as if they all belonged to one type and period, as if the Pharisaic casuistry was wrong from the first, and throughout. Now we think that there is a true and a false casuistry. The true casuistry proceeds from an absolute confidence in the permanence and validity of a law in the form which it has assumed, together with an equally strong perception that the form requires adaptation to the facts. The problem before those afterwards known by the name of Pharisees was this: either supersede the Law altogether and let it become a dead letter, as the political Sadducees were willing to do, or explain it in such a way that it may become useful and practicable. They chose the latter alternative, and no doubt at the time it was the right one. They insisted, as far as they could, on the literal fulfilment of the Law, and fell back for difficulties upon casuistry. But there is a fatal peril about casuistry: it lends itself with fatal ease to immoral and untrue excuses, and, strange as it may seem, it tends to strengthen conservatism of the letter. Why should the letter be ever changed, when casuistry will make its observance easy and prevent moral obligations from pressing too heavily? This is the question which its use comes to suggest, and then it rapidly becomes the false casuistry which was prevalent in the time of our Lord. Instead of the Law increasing sin, the treatment of it by the later Pharisees had lulled their consciences to sleep, and so they hated and rejected Christ. But it was far more the moral effects of these principles in their minds which our Lord condemned than the use of this or that principle of interpretation. Thus such a description of the Scribes as may be found on p. 59 is only applicable to a certain period of the history of the Scribes, and even then does not give a true impression, because it obscures the historical grounds of the decadence. 'The pride of pedantry, despising moral nobleness, and revelling in an hypocrisy so profound as hardly to recognize that it was hypocritical, wrapped itself in an esoteric theology and looked down upon the children of a common Father as an accursed multitude in whose very touch there was ceremonial defilement.' Some of this was doubtless true of certain times, and possibly of many characters in the Rabbinic period, but it cannot have been true of all. Professor Kuenen of Leyden is above suspicion of leanings towards the methods and results of Rabbinic schools of thought; yet he gives a much more favourable, and, we think, a much fairer

and more natural, account of the Scribes and their development than this. The passage is too long to quote, but may be found in the *History of the Religion of Israel*, ch. ix. (Eng. Trans., vol. iii. pp. 12 *sqq.*). But, again, it cannot be said to be a really historical treatment of interpretation which puts Rabbinical methods on the same level as Patristic. For the Rabbinical methods were developed to their highest and most cumbrous point, long after Christianity had triumphed in the world. And they are therefore only relevant to the history of Interpretation so far as they can be shown to have influenced Christian Interpretation. The existence of Christianity condemns their first principle, that the Law was not yet superseded, and therefore they are at once put out of court as interpreters. The spirit of the book they would interpret has gone from them.

A similar remark might be made, though with a less degree of cogency, on Dr. Farrar's treatment of the Alexandrian School. They were trying to reconcile the streams of thought which could only be reconciled in Christ—the Greek and the Hebrew—and the Hebraic spirit was probably at a very low ebb in their minds. But their methods were taken up into Christianity, and not only was Interpretation influenced by them, but also theological speculation, in a much greater degree than could have been true of the Rabbinical tradition. In the lecture devoted to the Alexandrian School Dr. Farrar makes a severe attack upon the Septuagint, and it is one of his constant complaints of the Fathers that they regard the Septuagint as inspired. This was no doubt critically a crime, but yet we think that Dr. Farrar's judgment of the Septuagint requires some modification. Let us compare it with the view of Wellhausen, in his edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, page 578. Let us first hear Dr. Farrar:—

'The version of the Seventy must therefore be regarded, not only as a translation but as a corrected edition (διόρθωσις), almost as a running commentary, which freely manipulates the text in accordance with the exegetical traditions of the day. . . . They cannot be regarded as faithful or accurate, still less as inspired, interpreters.'

Thus Dr. Farrar, page 122. Then Wellhausen:—

'The LXX is a first attempt, on that account deserving of thanks and admiration, yet possessing all the weaknesses of a first attempt. Throughout it adheres closely to the Hebrew order of the words, so closely that it is hardly intelligible to us except by retranslation, and must have been entirely useless to a real Greek. . . . But this literalness is not scrupulosity, it is rather clumsiness, partly perhaps an accommodation to a Jewish Greek dialect, which was developing, and

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was Hebrew or Aramaic in a Greek dress, and on its side obtained in the Septuagint its literary classic, as the new High German did in Luther's Bible. . . . The Pentateuch may be regarded as a specially successful work, Isaiah as the least successful. As a whole, for the scientific end for which the LXX serves us—namely, the reconstruction of the Hebrew original—it is most desirable, as the translation is so mechanical and clumsy.'

Of course, Dr. Farrar is at liberty to form his own judgment on the value of the LXX, and we do not hold a brief for it; but we think Wellhausen's judgment more natural and more historical.

Further, the special interpretations condemned under the various heads seem to us often to be treated in an unhistorical way. For instance, Dr. Farrar quotes a certain interpretation of Joel i. 1 which was common to the Patristic and Scholastic periods. The words are these: 'The word of the Lord came to Joel, the son of Pethuel,' and the expression 'The word of the Lord' is interpreted by both schools, of Christ. This rouses Dr. Farrar's ire. It is 'absurd and irreverent' (p. 252); it is a mere play upon words; it is found in Hugo of S. Victor, Remigius, Rupert of Deutz, the *Glossa Ordinaria*; and with other similar cases has been derived third or fourth hand from the Catenæ and glosses (p. 268 n. 5). We are prepared to admit that at the time of the publication of the prophecy the words bore only a literal sense; but there is a development to be taken into account. Dr. Farrar should remember that the Fathers did not live in the light of the Sixth Article of the Church of England, and that to them there was a long course of literary growth between the days of the Prophets and the Gospel—that all through this time the idea of the word of God was gradually growing, and being prepared to receive the sense which S. John gave it. Hence this interpretation is considerably more than an absurd and irreverent play upon words. If it be an anachronism, the sense put upon it by the Fathers is not alien to the development of its meaning. It is not an utterly foreign sense, gratuitously foisted into the word; if not accurate for the time when the prophecies were written, it is justified by the subsequent history of the words. S. John did more than use a well-known term in an entirely new sense; he closed the development of it by referring it to the Person in whom the development found its climax. We suppose that the chief use Dr. Farrar makes of the Apocryphal books is to search in them for 'an ensample of life and instruction in manners,' and we should not for a moment wish to interfere

in such a matter as this; but we take leave to suggest that the whole period between Malachi and the New Testament is extremely fruitful in information bearing on the history of theological terms, and that it is quite as arbitrary and unhistorical to talk as if there were no continuity between the Old and New Testaments in regard of terms as it is to force the Old Testament to speak the language of the New.

Dr. Farrar is probably forced into this unhistorical position by his very strong bias against anything like a Church tradition. This always infuriates him. He complains that it is used, as a rule, in dealing with heretics when other arguments fail. He points out that the traditions embodied in S. Irenæus are not wholly trustworthy (p. 177), and that Tertullian, who was so energetic a *malleus hereticorum*, himself died a heretic (p. 180). He derides the well-known rule of Vincent of Lerins (p. 326 n.), talks of the *Analogia Fidei* 'as a dogmatic Shibboleth involving the misapplication of a Scripture phrase' (p. 333), and he also observes (p. 212) 'that the attempt to enforce private interpretations by Church anathemas has led to the melancholy spectacle of Councils—as, for instance, that of Sirmium—denouncing as heretical the refusal to accept certain specimens of exegesis which are no longer deemed tenable by any ordinary Christian man.' We cannot but think Dr. Farrar's instance infelicitous. The Council of Sirmium was not a Catholic Council at all. It was a semi-Arian Council, which dealt with the heresy of Photinus.¹ That there is a certain degree of bias in this is indicated by the following remarks, culled from various parts of the book. Cardinal Newman (p. 212) is referred to as asserting a 'necessary connexion between orthodoxy and exegetic wilfulness.' 'The authority of the Church,' we are told on page 239, 'has in all ages been falsely claimed for the presumptuous tyranny of false prevalent opinions.' The Antiochene School (p. 211) 'was anathematized by the angry tongue, and crushed by the iron hand, of a dominant orthodoxy.' 'Strauss marshalled and magnified the difficulties and discrepancies, which, though they are innocuous to any reasonable view of truthful testimony, fell with fatal force on the hollow idol of the dictation dogma, which had so long been enthroned upon the pedestal of a false orthodoxy.' (This is the orthodoxy of the post-Reformation period.) It is interesting also to notice the very different treatment men receive according as they are connected with the

¹ We presume Dr. Farrar means the first Council of Sirmium, though he gives the date 357 A.D., now usually given to the second Council, which adopted the *Blasphemia* of Potamius.

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Church of Rome or not. Thus, the condemnation of the works of Aristotle by the Pope is mentioned in company with a sneer at the Papal Infallibility; the very similar condemnation of them later on by Roger Bacon, when they had become part of the regular reading of Churchmen, is mentioned as the solitary case of 'protest in the thirteenth century against servile devotion to the Fathers and the authority of Aristotle' (p. 266 n. 2). Later on Luther himself condemned Aristotle. These quotations are, we think, sufficient to show bias, and also sufficient to account for the general attitude which Dr. Farrar assumes to historical order and evolution.

There is one more point which we cannot but mention here, though it does not, in strictness, belong to the subject of interpretation. It is this: We think Dr. Farrar does not show to any great advantage in his remarks on metaphysical points, especially in their connexion with Theology. This comes out in his treatment of the Schoolmen, and quite as much in his treatment of the modern school, especially Hegel. Quite apart from the special question of the exegetic methods of the Schoolmen he assails them for their terminology. And certainly the terms he quotes are enough to strike terror into the boldest soul. But yet we remember that J. S. Mill, in his *Logic* (vol. i. p. 29), refers to the Schoolmen as masters of technical terminology, and so we are led to conjecture that Dr. Farrar has managed to select some peculiarly convincing instances in order the more easily to prove his point. This is natural, we are ready to own, but we think it a little hard on the Schoolmen. J. S. Mill must have had some reason for what he said, and we do not think he had any such leanings towards Scholasticism as could have led him to make such a remark. But we will go further. Dr. Farrar's criticisms on the results of Scholastic learning are extremely and unnecessarily severe. If he will turn to S. Thomas Aquinas (whom he himself admits to have been 'an incomparable theologian'), *Summa Tot. Theol.* Pars Prima, Quæst. xix., he will find certain extremely important results as to the Divine Will. Dr. Farrar will doubtless remember that one of the central points made by S. Athanasius against the Arians was that it was impossible to apply the conception of Time to the Eternal Generation. It may seem remote, but in practice this becomes the question, whether the Church is to adore our Blessed Lord, or whether such adoration is simply idolatry. A similar question may be raised about the Will of God. Are we to suppose that the conception of an active will implies change in time? And in this will be involved the question,

VOL. XXII.—NO. XLIV.

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Is God an active living God, or the mere formula of the movement of the world? With a keenness like that of S. Athanasius, S. Thomas Aquinas directs himself to this point. And his answer is scholastic, through and through, just as the answer of S. Athanasius breathed most unmistakeably the patristic spirit:—

‘Respondeo dicendum,’ he says in Art. viii., ‘quod voluntas Dei est omnino immutabilis. Sed circa hoc considerandum est quod aliud est mutare voluntatem et aliud est velle aliquarum rerum mutationem. Potest enim aliquis eadem voluntate immobiliter permanente velle quod nunc fiat hoc, et postea fiat contrarium. Sed tunc voluntas mutaretur si aliquis inciperet velle quod prius non voluit, vel desineret velle quod voluit. Quod quidem accidere non potest nisi præsупposita mutatione vel ex parte cognitionis vel circa dispositionem substantiæ ipsius volentis.’

This is his answer, and there is much more of it, discussions of objections and the like; and, as we said, it is thoroughly scholastic. Yet, for all that, S. Thomas has hit the mark. This answer proceeds from and implies a certain conception of God—not that of a First Cause which is really nothing but a formula, but a living God whose will is expressed in a process. Dr. Farrar may object that all such questions as these are *portentosa et latrantes questiones*, or that they show ‘the dangers which arise from a mixture of intellectual subtlety and dogmatic servitude, of crude materialism and unfathomable superstition.’¹ These are some of the phrases which he uses of the specimens of scholastic inquiry which he has selected. But men cannot help using their intellects on the propositions of their creed, and we must take men as we find them. No one will deny that many Scholastic questions are quite unprofitable, but no one has any right to condemn them wholesale. We have ventured on this illustration of Scholastic method because we think it is time to give up reiterating quotations from Bacon and Erasmus and men of their day on this point, without any allowance for the strong spirit of reaction under which such men must inevitably have been labouring. If Dr. Farrar infers from our attitude here that we habitually converse about ‘hæcceties, quiddities, ampliatiions’ and the like, or that our soul is constantly absorbed in the question of the angels and the pin, we really cannot help it.

¹ P. 293. Even Dr. Farrar stops somewhere; he draws the line at one of Luther’s expressions about the Schoolmen. ‘They are,’ he remarks (p. 293), ‘as Luther says (omitting his epithet *diabolica*), an art of litigating about idle and useless speculations.’

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But Dr. Farrar is by no means satisfied with modern philosophy, and he rightly complains that the Process which Hegel calls God is in no sense the God of Christianity.¹ At the risk of appearing contentious and hypercritical we cannot forbear pointing out that this 'flimsy and fantastic ideology,' as Dr. Farrar has been pleased to call it, has done a service to religion. If we compare it with the God=Substance in Spinoza, or the mediating power between the two sides of Leibniz's Pre-established Harmony, or even with Kant's idea of God, we cannot but feel that though, in some respects, there is little to choose between them, yet in others there is a really vast improvement. While we may admit the criticisms of Baur, and recognize in Hegel's Philosophy of Religion a parallel development to the Gnosticism of Valentinus, we ought not to deny that, taken together with Hegel's general doctrine, it does represent an attempt to realize in thought the concreteness of life. If it is a failure, as no doubt it is, it is a failure which contains suggestions as to a new and better method. But the whole subject in this form is irrelevant to the question of interpretation; and we are not wholly responsible for its introduction.

We have now commented on many points in which Dr. Farrar's book has struck us. His treatment of history, his metaphysics, and his bias against ecclesiasticism, all seem to diminish the value of the book. But we confess that the last point here named, from its frequent appearance, inspired us with a sort of hope. Period after period, author after author, had been rejected and condemned, and this seemed to suggest the idea that somewhere in modern times the ideal method would be found. The Reformation, we reflected, will come soon, and then the iron hand of dominant orthodoxy will cease to exercise its baleful influence on exegesis, and a method and an author will arise fit for Dr. Farrar's imprimatur. But the hope was rudely dashed to the ground. The later lectures commend many points, it is true, in the authors with whom they deal—Luther's close adherence to Scripture, for instance, and the various services of Erasmus. Yet we still ask in vain, What does Dr. Farrar mean by interpretation? Luther is affected by the taint of the allegoric method, and later writers interpreted Scripture in the interests of their own particular confessions. Hints here and there given—as, for instance, the commendation of the Antiochene School—seem

¹ We hope that it is a misprint by which Hegel's God is described (p. 412) as an 'unconditioned subtraction.'

to imply a tendency towards critical and literal methods; but the extremely scanty treatment of the Tübingen School prevents our feeling any real certainty as to the drift of his mind. Wisdom is not to be found in metaphysic nor theological dogma, whether of the Church of Rome or of Reformed Churches. Homiletics are 'the phylloxera vastatrix of exegesis,'¹ and preachers have been in the habit of 'ploughing with the unequally yoked ox and ass of science and sermon-making' (p. 246 *n.*), so there is no help for us here. By way of positive statement we have the general encouragement given to writers of the Antiochene School, a catalogue of principles of exegesis in a note at the end of the book (pp. 472 *sqq.*), the general conclusion in Lecture viii. concerning Christ the Interpreter, and the expressions in the Preface concerning the aim and purpose of the book. But we cannot co-ordinate all these into a definite theory, and perhaps p. xxiii of the Preface warns us against the attempt. From this perplexity there seems but one escape, and that is to suppose that there are conflicting interests and principles in Dr. Farrar's mind, and that he has not very completely combined them. On the one side there is the interest which he cannot but feel as a parish priest, the interest in the spiritual side of the Bible, and on the other there is the strong intellectual bias which determines him as a scholar in the direction of literalism. This would seem to account for the confusion rationally and adequately. It might, we think, have been avoided by a more careful use of the idea of evolution. Perhaps in the face of Dr. Farrar's remarks on p. 9 in the introductory lecture, this may seem a bold and presumptuous accusation. We are assured there that the statement that exegesis has often darkened the true meaning of Scripture is no mere assertion; and this is proved for us both by the Darwinian principle of the survival of the fittest, and the Hegelian principle that history is the objective development of the Idea. Yet still we must confess that we do not think he has applied these principles rightly. His mind seems to have lost itself in a heap of individual cases of exegesis, each of which by itself strikes him as absurd. Perhaps it is a small point to make, but the disproportion in length in the treatment of earlier and later authors seems to point in this direction. Those whose methods afford plenty of illustration in detail of 'radically unsound and baseless' modes of exegesis are dealt with at great length, whereas the

¹ P. 246 *n.* Dr. Farrar is sufficiently pleased with this phrase to quote it in the Index, p. 527.

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period of modern criticism, where general principles, one would have thought, were so much brought to the front, obtains a comparatively short and summary treatment. The much greater historic length of the earlier periods has, of course, much to do with this, but not all; as Dr. Farrar himself points out that he has only chosen the commanding figures in each age. Now we venture to suggest that there is in the interpretation of Scripture an evolution in regard of both those aspects of Scripture which we mentioned at the beginning. Let us attempt to explain this; and, first, we must observe that our conception of evolution is widely different from Dr. Farrar's. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the Darwinian principle proves 'the vast mass of what has passed for Scriptural interpretation to be no longer tenable,' because we feel that if this were so in any literal or strict sense there would be no evolution at all. Evolution of truth is surely the gradual expression of it through successive stages and in successive forms; and in so far as it is really an evolution we, with our fuller knowledge, must be able to perceive that the earlier stages were not only in their day true, but contain the truth which we in our day are most anxious to assert. The difference between theories which are untenable and erroneous and those which are right and true is not a difference in degree but in kind. And so an evolution cannot be the appearance of what is right, at the end of a series of things which are absolutely wrong: rather that which is right and implicit throughout becomes explicit at the end.

So in Nature

'Man's attributes had here and there

Been scattered o'er the visible world before

Asking to be combined, dim fragments meant

To be united in some wondrous whole.

Imperfect qualities throughout creation

Suggesting some one creature yet to make.

Some point where all those scattered rays should meet

Convergent in the faculties of man.'

The emphasis in evolution is always rather on what is right than on what is wrong. This is our first point. And the second is that periods and modes of interpretation must be estimated by their relation to the two sides of Scriptural interpretation. This will explain the attitude we assumed above towards the Rabbinical and Alexandrian schools. Their lack of the true spirit of Scripture makes them inadequate representatives of the progress of Scripture interpretation. They are necessary to understand the rise of certain methods and

forms in Catholic interpretation, but no more. Then the Patristic School comes before us. Here we have before us very peculiar phenomena, which Dr. Farrar does not seem to think require an explanation. On the one side we have a body of men living saintly and pure lives, full of spiritual knowledge, embodying the results of all their spiritual history in books which have on this account an undying value for mankind. And yet, according to Dr. Farrar, they treated the Bible in a way which he can scarcely sufficiently despise. They found a meaning in the letters of the Septuagint, they gave the most abstruse mystical reasons for things which were entirely out of relation to the reasons. It is needless to remark that much of what they say is right, in spite of all this. But may we not find an answer to the difficulty in the fact that the spiritual side of the fathers was developed to its highest, and their critical side still somewhat undeveloped? Their conception of literalism was not ours. We think it means that the exact significance of each word as it was to the writer should be drawn out as far as possible, and from this the spiritual meaning should be derived. Greek was the Fathers' mother-tongue; it lived in their minds and was full of associations to them, as every living language is. And they could not but suppose that when the Holy Spirit spoke in human language, each letter and syllable would be important. We have in our most critical moods (unless we deny the spiritual interpretation altogether) a sort of parallel to this. We recognize fully the human element in inspiration, and no longer talk of mechanical or verbal inspiration; but yet we do not feel ourselves at liberty to be careless or neglectful of the actual words; never so much as now was there such an activity in the field of textual criticism. For the men S. Paul and S. John, being full of the Holy Spirit, spoke certain words, and these at all costs we must make our own. In these we shall feel the presence of the Holy Spirit, and from these we shall learn of the spiritual life. But yet, while we are thus careful, we shall never deny that spiritual knowledge is shed from the pages of the Bible even before the text is settled. The Spirit does not depend on these points for His self-manifestation; indeed, we know well enough that the widest knowledge of such matters is consistent with a very small degree of illumination. We may perhaps be able to correct the texts the Fathers used, or to supply their study of syllables and letters with a literalism of a higher kind; but, whatever their methods and whatever their powers, we cannot deny that in numberless cases they obtained truth. The Schoolmen in

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their interpretation, we cannot but own, are very much below the Fathers. And perhaps the reason may be found in the fact that the methods which the Fathers used were gradually losing influence, and were gradually being used with less true confidence, as well as the still more terrible fact that the Church was gradually coming upon evil days, and that the efforts to purify and raise her from within were failing one by one. This could not but have an effect upon exegesis. With the reformers and later authors the emphasis begins to be laid on the literal and grammatical side of interpretation; and here, too, a one-sided development took place; the spiritual side was often lost in the grammatical and critical, and the consequences of this are being realized in our day.

There is just one other point on which we would say a word, and that is Church tradition. This is popularly supposed to mean an objective body of isolated interpretations forced on an unwilling Church, and to be *ipso facto* antagonistic to evolution. On the contrary, it is the principle of evolution. Each age of the Church hands on to the next some legacy; and this should be accepted by the age to which it comes not as a mere body of truth which has to be carried about, as it were, like some heirloom, but as a product of the past which is living still, and still is capable of being active in the new experiences of the Church, still capable of development without ever losing its individuality or its sameness. An age which accepts in an external way the gifts of the past inevitably misunderstands them.

And so we here leave Dr. Farrar and his book. We cannot think that it will do much to help the growth just now described of Church tradition. We cannot think that Dr. Farrar has estimated the various periods with which he has dealt, fairly or sympathetically. But we must not conclude without a word to express our admiration of the tone in which he closes his last lecture. To believe in Christ is, indeed, the one thing needful. Without this no method, however scientific, will really 'interpret'; with this no method, however unscientific and apparently hopeless, can, if it be honest, wholly fail of success.

ART. X.—THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE.

The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton. By the late ROBERT WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor of the University of Cambridge, and sometime Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Edited, with large additions, and brought up to the present time by JOHN WILLIS CLARK, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1886.)

IT was well known to the intimate friends of the late Professor Willis that he had for many years been collecting materials for an architectural history of the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. The idea of undertaking such a work had been suggested to him, more than forty years ago, when he was testing his interpretation of the architectural nomenclature of William of Worcester, by applying it to the details of buildings in Cambridge. While he was gradually adopting the opinion that 'we have done little more than exchange our own mediæval nomenclature for the mediæval nomenclature of Italy,' and are really 'using a medley of Vitruvian and Italian terms mixed up with French and Dutch translations of the latter,' his attention was naturally directed to the varieties of the classical details which had supplanted mediæval ones; and a desire to settle the order in which these changes had taken place, ended in a determination to apply to Cambridge and Oxford the same mode of research which had led to such signal success at Canterbury. The same unrivalled sagacity which had detected the evidence of the successive masonry of Ernulf, and of William of Sens, was to be directed to the interpretation of college muniments and the puzzling medleys of college structures.

Failing health, however, as well as the pressure of official duties, interfered with the progress and completion of this design, and when he died in 1875 his executor found that he had left behind him nothing more than a mass of memoranda in various stages of preparation for the press. The separate histories of the colleges were all more or less incomplete. Some were nearly finished, some merely sketched out. 'Everywhere' (says Mr. Clark in the Preface, p. xxiii) 'there were gaps to be filled up, but no materials suitable to the purpose

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were at hand.' The notes relating to colleges at Oxford were imperfect, and the materials for a proposed chapter on the revived classical style, which spread itself from Italy over the rest of Europe, and eventually, as he had pointed out, superseded all other styles, were nothing more than the headings of intended paragraphs and general notes, which show how instructive a lesson has been lost to architectural students. The original conception of the History included an account of the early lay and clerical schools and halls, out of which grew the collegiate system as we now see it; and his treatment of so obscure and neglected a subject would have been a priceless feature in his introductory chapter, but was never written. In 1869, when he witnessed the destruction of the chapel of S. John's, his capacity for continuous effort was felt to be failing by those who knew the extent of his former power, and though he lived to see the transformation of the more venerable Church of S. Benedict he had become incapable of more than a momentary appreciation of the value of the architectural disclosures which were taking place, and left to others the task of recording them.

In spite of all these formidable breaks in the continuity of his manuscript, this chaos of memoranda has been so admirably edited by the author's nephew, Mr. J. W. Clark, that the deficiencies we have mentioned are never obtrusively apparent. Accomplished, as only Fellows of Trinity can be accomplished, Mr. Clark brought to the execution of his task great gifts, and that without which the greatest gifts are useless, untiring industry. Notes and sketches existed in abundance, but they were mostly written in a kind of shorthand which no one but Professor Willis himself could have deciphered. He accordingly found it necessary to go back to the point from which Willis himself had started, and to investigate the whole subject afresh. He 'read and made extracts from the entire series of bursars' account books in every college in the University, besides studying the documents relating to the history of the sites, the Order-books, and all other sources of information to which he could obtain access at Cambridge and elsewhere' (Pref. p. xxiii). A similar labour was required for the University buildings. We learn without surprise that this comprehensive and thorough research occupied eleven years, and that the 'added matter' with which Mr. Clark has enriched his uncle's labours—and which he has enclosed within brackets—amounts to about two-thirds of the entire work. 'The general arrangement of the whole work had fortunately been carefully considered by Professor Willis, and he had

drawn up, for his own use, the scheme' under which he intended to treat his subject. This outline of the author's plan has been most faithfully followed: every reference noted in the manuscripts has been verified; every statement which seemed open to question has been confirmed by independent enquiry; every separate detail, merely indicated 'by a single line or an unfinished sketch,' has been supplied by indefatigable research, and we have before us a history of the University which only the founder of the modern school of archaeology could have written, and of which the University may well be proud. The main object of the History is to show how colleges gradually occupied the sites of monasteries in the thirteenth century, and undertook many of their functions; and this investigation brings under our notice the successive foundations of Walter de Merton, William of Wykeham, William of Waynflete, and those of King Henry VI., both at Cambridge and Eton.

The first instalment of this History was merely the report of a lecture 'On the Collegiate and other Buildings in Cambridge,' which was delivered thirty-two years ago; but it has grown up into three portly volumes of text, containing respectively 630, 776, and 733 pages, and an appendix, or fourth volume, of plans of the sites, changes, and additions peculiar to each college, prefaced by two plans of Cambridge, representing the town before the foundation of colleges, and in its present state. There are incorporated with the text reproductions of the oldest known plan of Cambridge, drawn by Richard Lyne in 1574 to illustrate the history of the University by Dr. Caius, published in that year. This plan, as we are told in an 'Account of the Authorities used in the Present Work,' is drawn without reference to scale, proportion, or relative position of buildings, and, although it gives the ancient names of many streets and their relations to each other, 'has not the value of the plan' by John Hamond, of Clare Hall, dated February 22, 1592, which has been copied for the History 'whenever it appeared necessary to do so.' Lastly, free use has been made of the plan of Cambridge given in Logan's *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, and published in 1688, which shows the changes which had been effected in the interval of nearly a century which had elapsed since Hamond's plan was drawn.

The three volumes are also enriched with general illustrations and views, which in many cases preserve the features of buildings destroyed or tastelessly restored since Willis wrote; but the most precious of all to the architectural historian are the reductions of Logan's views of the several colleges.

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These drawings are so accurate, and executed with so much artistic feeling, that they show with literal fidelity what Cambridge was like at the end of the seventeenth century, and make us wonder at the strange fluctuations of taste which so recklessly destroyed what they represent.

The first volume contains, besides an introduction, the accounts of seven colleges, and of Eton. The second volume is devoted to the remaining colleges; and the third supplies the history of the University buildings, and eleven essays on the component parts of a college, which will probably be found far more interesting than the pages devoted to the identification of sites. The first of these essays on 'The Collegiate Plan' deals at length with the works and influence of Walter de Merton, William of Wykeham, and Dr. Caius, the advocate of quadrangles with one side open; but those which treat of 'Chambers and Studies,' the 'Hall,' the 'Combination Room,' and the 'Library' have perhaps greater attractions, inasmuch as they reveal more of the daily life of our forefathers, and contrast the frugal habits of the Middle Ages with the luxurious tendencies of modern times.

The whole work is dedicated by its editor 'to the memory of Henry Bradshaw,' the late librarian of the University of Cambridge, and this grateful recognition of his worth will be most welcome to all who knew his rare unselfishness and noble purity of character.

The University was originally without colleges. It grew up alongside of the monastery, which in its early days had somewhat of the collegiate character, and was very much like the 'burh' of the Anglo-Saxon period, an association of people living in a defensible enclosure, and under a simple rule, to secure protection and defence against common dangers. The monasteries were no doubt from the first mission stations, but they were also retreats eagerly sought after by men who had little taste for active life, and still less for one of constant danger and excitement. Celibacy was not a necessary requisite for the assumption of holy orders in the eighth and ninth centuries, and the church-close contained men and women, lay and cleric. The two abbeys founded by 'Benedict Biscop,' at the mouths of the Wear and Tyne, and afterwards united under Abbat Ceolfrith in the seventh century, had their libraries, materials for study, and schools; and that of Jarrow under Bede, Ceolfrith's pupil, was practically the University of the North of England—a band of men devoting themselves to the extension of Christianity and the cultivation of literature. The Church undertook the education of the young

because none but Churchmen were capable of fulfilling the task, and ready to undertake it, and for the selfsame reason our earliest statesmen, jurists, historians, and architects sprang from the religious orders, who were from the earliest times preparing the ground for the later collegiate system.

'The University of the Middle Ages was,' to use the words of Professor Willis, 'a corporation of learned men, associated for the purpose of teaching, and possessing the privilege that no one should be allowed to teach within their dominions unless he had received their sanction, which could only be granted after trial of his ability. . . . The degree was, in fact, merely a license to teach' (Introduction, vol. i. p. xiv).

But the University did not 'concern itself with the food and lodging of the students, beyond the exercise of a superintending power over the rules and regulations of the houses in which they lodged, in order to protect them from exaction. . . . The only buildings required by such a corporation in the first instance were: a place to hold meetings and ceremonies, a library, and schools for teaching, or, as we should call them, lecture-rooms' (*ibid.*)

The University provided the teachers, or 'regents,' as they were termed; the monastery found the scholars.

The conventual church at Ely hired houses at Cambridge, and the priory of S. Frithswyth did the same at Oxford, to accommodate the students of their bodies, for whom systematic teaching was desirable, and thus the two Universities grew up in the two historic towns, and finally overshadowed the earlier state of things. The lodging-houses hired by students of townspeople were supplanted by hostels with some semblance of government and supervision, and even some assumption of the collegiate system, as in the case of S. Bernard's Hostel, with its hall, chapel, library, and gallery, until private munificence gradually abolished the discomforts of both lodging-houses and hostels, and cleared the way for the acceptance of the matured system of Walter de Merton.

The first halls and hostels seem to have been unendowed, but in 1233 a fund was created by Alan Basset, and vested in the priory of Bicester, for the support of two chaplains or scholars of the University of Oxford, and in 1274 William de Kilkeny, Bishop of Ely, bequeathed a similar sum of 200 marks in trust to Barnwell Priory for the support of two priests studying theology in the University of Cambridge. Very similar to this was the bequest of 310 marks by William of Durham to the University of Oxford, 'to the end that with the revenues issuing thence, ten or eleven or twelve

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masters or more should be sustained or relieved in the schools of Oxford;’ but, as the editor of the History points out, the manner in which this bequest was primarily employed by the University shows ‘that no idea of its possible future development’ in the direction of the college system was present to its mind, and it was left to Walter de Merton first to establish in Oxford, in 1274, ‘an incorporated body of men living together as distinguished from students living apart in lodgings, the rent of which happens to be paid for them by some benefactor.’

We know provokingly little of the private history of the founder of the collegiate system, and that little is to be found in a sketch of his life published in 1859 by Dr. Hobhouse, a Fellow of Merton, who had been in the previous year consecrated Bishop of Nelson. The founder of Merton was connected by property and blood with the town of Basingstoke, in Hampshire, where the inheritance of his mother lay, as well as the property of her numerous kindred, the Heriards, Olivers, and Fitzaces. The surname of his father is unknown. There is no ground for supposing that the son Walter had any tie with Merton as a birthplace; but, as he tells us in the statutes of his college that his name was acquired from the priory there, and as an Edmund de Heriard was Prior of Merton in 1296, his biographer suggests that there is no harm in assuming that he may have been educated there through the advice of his mother’s kindred.

With regard to his further education nothing certain is known, and it is a curious fact that the same may be said with respect to William of Wykeham, and William of Waynflete. Their residence at Oxford as students is only a tradition. There is some reason to think that Walter studied at Oxford under Adam de Marisco, an eminent Franciscan reader, the rival candidate for the bishopric of Ely when Hugh de Balsham was elected, and he is known to have been in holy orders about the year 1237–8. A few years later he was a royal favourite, holding preferment, and he is believed to have practised in the law courts, as Churchmen then did, and to have acquired both money and influence, which he soon devoted to the fulfilment of those charitable schemes which occupied his whole life.

His parents were both buried at Basingstoke, in the parish church of S. Michael. His mother, Cristina, died first, and we learn from the Bishop’s memoir that Walter at once gave up the house at Basingstoke which he inherited from her to the purposes of a hospital ‘ad sustentationem pauperum Christi transeuntium.’ This foundation was soon superseded

by another deed, which conveyed a larger endowment and embraced a wider field of charity—the support of ministers of the altar ‘ad egestatem et imbecillitatem vergentium,’ as well as of the poor travellers. On June 25, 1253, the master and brethren of his cherished undertaking received permission from the King to have a chantry in the hospital chapel; and in 1262, by a deed which begins with a preamble on the duty of keeping the clergy from poverty, the Hospital of S. John is made a royal foundation for the support of needy clergy ‘et pauperum ibidem infirmantium.’

The institution was on a humble scale, but seems to have become an object of regard amongst the founder’s fellow-townsmen, for the deeds about this time are numerous which convey small parcels of land to the brethren and sisters of S. John.

This first charitable undertaking of Walter bears a strong family resemblance to the intentions of the earlier founders of the Hospitals of S. Cross, near Winchester, and of S. John the Baptist, at Oxford. The latter, which was in being in the reign of King John, consisted, like Walter de Merton’s, of a master, of brethren, and of sisters, and his royal patron and friend, Henry III., had by charter endowed it with lands at Oxford and elsewhere in 1231; but both these eleemosynary creations have disappeared. The hospital at Oxford was absorbed in Waynflete’s college; that at Basingstoke was annexed to Merton College by its founder, and commended in its statutes for its better endowment to the grateful bounty of those individual beneficiaries of his foundation, whom Providence should bless with increased means. The result has been pretty much the same in each case. The estates remain, and the duties implied by their possession have undergone new interpretations. From 1253 to 1263 we find, from the brief biography which we are quoting, that Walter de Merton was with few interruptions the King’s chancellor, an office which then meant the confidential adviser of the sovereign. If Henry III. had been a continuous resident in England, Walter would have naturally lived in his palace and, like his predecessors, received his ‘allowance of fivepence a day, a simnel and two seasoned sinnels, a sectary of clear wine and a sectary of household wine, one large candle and forty pieces of candle;’ but the King was too often a quasi-fugitive in France or semi-prisoner in the Tower, and Walter probably remained at one of his prebendal residences, with powers, almost viceregal at one time, to settle with the Pope’s legate the grant of the kingdom of Sicily to the King’s son, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, and at another to mediate with the deputies

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of disaffected barons, and report to the King's brother Richard, King of the Romans, his most intimate friend.

In 1264 the charter of incorporation, with the first body of statutes, was obtained; but this foundation was the development of a previous one of unknown date, and it is important to bear in mind that what he founded at this time was not Merton College, at Oxford, but an endowed house of the scholars of Merton at Malden, in Surrey, consisting of twenty scholars under a warden, and in connexion with the University at Oxford, a principle adopted later by William of Wykeham, Henry VI., Chichele, Wolsey, and Fox, who carried out the idea of providing feeders for particular colleges which they founded. The charter did not create the first body of *Scolares de Merton*, it only created the first incorporated body. 'There is a document amongst the "Malden title deeds" of Merton College containing an assignation of that manor, with Chesington and Farleigh, for the sustentation of John de la Clythe and seven other "nepotes," all recited by name, who were called "scolares in scolis degentes," stated to be living under an *ordinatio* approved by the King, by the feudal lord, and by the Bishop of Winchester and his chapter.' 'The earliest stage of the founder's benevolent intentions,' according to his biographer, 'presents to us a family arrangement for placing eight of his nephews under a warden and chaplains in his manor house, with a lifelong provision, entitling them "scolares in scolis degentes" and tying them to a life of study and of rule, for they were to forfeit their places should they disregard the *ordinatio* or commit any serious offence.' The vacancies were to be filled up by *consanguinei* or others, the nomination of whom the founder reserved to himself.

The *ordinatio* Bishop Hobhouse believes to be lost.

'I conceive,' Bishop Hobhouse continues, 'that Walter de Merton had, at least as early as 1264, the more complete ideal in his mind, and one exclusively of his own conception, viz. that of an incorporated body of secular students endowed with all the attributes of the great corporations of Regulars—self-support, self-government, self-replenishment, settled locally in connexion with a great seat of study, acquiring a share of that influence in the University which the establishment of powerful monasteries within its bounds had almost monopolized in the hands of the Regulars, and wielding that influence for the benefit of the Church in the advancement of the secular clergy, who, for lack of support and encouragement in the Universities, were sadly decayed in learning.'

The first idea of the institution exhibits the head with the æconomical and ecclesiastical part of the body living in the

county, and the academical in another fifty miles off, viz. at Oxford, where academical studies could be most efficiently pursued. The academical portion consisted of twenty scholars, the ecclesiastical of two or three 'ministri altaris,' the œconomical, of the serving and farming brethren, who seem to be known as 'fratres,' a name which occurs in all the early designations of the College. But even in 1264 the founder must have been planning the concentration of the institution in Oxford, for he was then acquiring property in the city on the present site of the College. In 1265 he obtained from the Prior of S. Frithswyth a grant of the house standing to the westward of the present gateway. In the beginning of 1265-6 he obtained the rectory of S. John Baptist, which gave him command of the ground and some houses immediately adjoining the church. In the ensuing August he obtained the King's license *de claudendo placeam*, which gave him command over the whole space between the church and the city walls. This was followed by a royal gift of the advowson and rectory of S. Peter's in the East and the purchase from a London Jew of a house fronting the street of S. John Baptist; and in 1267 he acquired royal license to 'cut a canal from some point in the Cherwell above Holywell Church through the precincts of S. John's Hospital, now Magdalen College, and passing outside the east gate, near the barton or grange of S. Frithswyth (still standing at the entrance of Christ Church Meadow from Rose Lane), to enter through the city wall, and so through the present garden by the College, with outlet through the city wall near the "domus" of S. Frithswyth.'

In 1270 the founder issued his statutes afresh for the purpose of ratifying in time of peace the disposition of his estates which he had made 'tempore turbationis Angliæ,' and for the sake of adding newly acquired property and increasing the number of his scholars; and in 1274 he obtained a charter from Edward I. ratifying all his gifts of land and statutes, and transferring the seat of his 'domus' from Malden to Oxford, 'ubi perpetuo scholares meos moraturos esse decerno.'

'In 1274, then,' as Bishop Hobhouse continues, 'Oxford beheld the first *perfected* corporation of secular scholars established within her academical and municipal precincts . . . destined to enter on a course of great literary and religious benefit—a course to be prolonged far beyond the life of its then eminent rivals, the established houses of Regulars in Oxford, and destined too to be the parent of a succession of similar institutions.'

In little more than half a century the Merton statutes

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were remodelled by Bishop Montacute for the College of Peterhouse at Cambridge, and the earlier statutes of Balliol, University, and Oriel were alike derived from the same source.

When we come to the course of study prescribed by his statutes, we find in it the clearest evidence of the founder's intentions—that his charitable considerations towards his own kindred and the poor and unaided scholar were all subordinated to the main end of benefiting the Church by erecting a nursery for her parochial priesthood in the bosom of the University.

The boys whom he admitted to his institution were to go through a prescribed course of—

1. Grammar, under the grammaticus, for those who needed 'rudimenta puerilia';
2. Arts and philosophy in accordance with the University course of the day for all;
3. Theology for all, after proficiency in arts;
4. Canon law for four or five select proficient in theology . . . with so much of civil as might be auxiliary to canon law.

All these provisions are those made by a wise and pious man, anxious to turn the lessons of experience to the best account by adapting and enlarging existing machinery to the special needs of the time in which he lived. He borrowed largely from the monastic institutions in the idea of an aggregate body living by common rule under a common head, but kept his beneficiaries free from perpetual obligations. They were neither to be monks nor friars, but they were to talk Latin in their refectory, and to live as simply as if under rule; they were to be students, but not jurists alone; they were to be an educated clergy at a time when admission to the clerical body was a qualification for the pursuit of every learned profession, and when theological study was neglected because the study of canon and civil law was more profitable.

The condition of ancient Oxford had probably a great deal to do with the introduction of the collegiate system in it by Walter de Merton, for it was evidently then a place in which neither life nor property was safe. The Jews had settled there in great numbers, and purchased houses in the parishes of S. Aldate, S. Martin, and S. Edward, which were known as Old and New Jewry. They had their synagogue, and they were the usurers whose rigid exaction of high rates of interest provoked rebellions of citizens and students which ended in bloodshed. They were wealthy enough to venture to defy the University, active enough to make converts, and

bold enough to fall foul of processions to the shrine of S. Frithswyth.

The townspeople and the students, and the different bands into which the students were divided, frequently fought and slew one another in the streets of Oxford; and it is the peculiar merit of Walter de Merton to have perceived the necessity during that troublous period of providing some safe retreat from the prevailing lawlessness, within whose walls his *scolares*, when they arrived at the University, might find a shelter. The models for his foundation, the great religious houses, were ready to his hand, and it is to his felicitous idea of copying their organization that we owe the linked schools and colleges, Winchester and New College, Eton and King's, Ipswich and Christ Church. The grand foundations of Wykeham, Waynflete, Chichele, Wolsey, and Colet may well be proud of their descent from the influence of 'the most munificent, probably the most able, statesman and prelate of the thirteenth century.'

'It is evident,' Professor Willis remarks, that the founder of Merton 'did not contemplate the formation of the closed monastic quadrangle, which, when once introduced, became the characteristic plan of a college until the Reformation; yet his buildings are disposed in an unconnected manner about a quadrangular court after the manner of the outer curia of a monastery. The western gable and the vestry of his collegiate church occupy the western side, which is completed by the wall of the churchyard; the Hall, of which the doorway appears to belong to Merton's original plan, stands detached on the south. The warden's lodgings, and some other buildings with decorated windows in the style of the chapel, are on the east and north sides. The latter side has chambers, and a gateway next the street, but built long subsequently, although the entrance must always have been there. The building at the north-east corner was a large chamber like a hall or refectory. It was pulled down in 1812, but is engraved by Skelton and Loggan. No building could ever have been intended to join or hide the eastern gable of the quire. In fact, the system of this first college seems to have been to keep the buildings separate: the collegiate quire, with its vestry, on the right hand of the courtyard; the refectory opposite to the entrance, with its kitchen and offices beyond; the master's hospitium on the left; and the scholars' hospitium as a separate dwelling also. On the south side of the church there is now a real quadrangle, called Mob Quadrangle, of great apparent antiquity, which nevertheless is the result of a gradual accumulation of buildings. The northern side is formed by a range of chambers of the sixteenth century, standing within ten feet of the square buttresses; but, previous to the building of this range, the northern side was formed by the chapel itself. The eastern side contains the vestry

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and the treasury, both of Merton's time, and it is completed by a range of chambers of uncertain date. The west side was at first formed by the south transept wall (now covered by the north range), and by the library, built in 1376, long after Merton's time. This library returns and closes the quadrangle on the south. All Merton's work is in the best style and workmanship of his period, and his church, so far as it goes, is a monumental structure. He commenced his buildings by erecting the quire of the collegiate church, the high altar of which was dedicated in 1277, the year of his death, but the building of the church continued, and appears in the bursar's rolls of 1288' (iii. 249).

As the new community was a religious one, studying theology and canon law, the necessary provision for the attendance of the students on Divine service was part of the founder's original plan, and was carried out by the purchase of the advowson of the parish church near which he placed his buildings—

'a practice which originated as a convenient contrivance for improving the endowments of religious houses, which in many respects resembled the new colleges, and in consequence served as models for parts of their organization' (iii. 485).

'Even in his first establishments at Malden and Farleigh, Walter de Merton was careful to obtain from the Bishop of Winchester the appropriation to his scholars of their respective parish churches the advowsons (or right of patronage) of which he had previously given to them. These churches were to be served by perpetual vicars. For his Oxford college he began by acquiring in 1265 vacant ground in contiguity with the parish church of S. John Baptist, to which ground the advowson of it belonged, and he also purchased the advowson of the more distant parish church of S. Peter's in the East. These two churches were canonically appropriated to the college by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1266 by one and the same deed. The former was intended for the actual use of the scholars, the latter purely for their better support, and accordingly the services of the latter are in the deed consigned to a vicar, while the services of the former are to be performed by the four ministers of the altar, who formed part of the community of the college, and who are designated chaplains in the statutes. . . . The founder, as in the common case, which evidently served him as a model of the transformation of a parish church into a collegiate church, set about rebuilding it in order to provide a spacious quire for the reception of his scholars and chaplains, and for the due performance of their religious rites, apart from those of the parish' (iii. 487, 488).

The Oxford founders immediately succeeding to Walter de Merton had not such ample funds to depend on, and were often constrained to buy sites on which hostels or halls were already established, which would admit of alterations and

additions. The twelve scholars of Walter de Stapledon, Bishop of Exeter, were first settled in Hert Hall, called Stapledon Hall, and then moved to S. Stephen's Hall, on the present site of Exeter College, in 1314. The ten students of Adam de Brom, almoner of Edward II., were located first at Tackley's Inn, and three years afterwards were moved to the great messuage called Oriole or Oriel Hall. According to Anthony Wood, 'at the first the buildings' of Durham College, afterwards Trinity College, Oxford, 'were no more nor no other than what belonged to the monks of Durham 1290, which being greatly ruined were repaired by Sir Thomas Pope for present use' in 1554.

What took place at Oxford happened also at Cambridge. Hugh de Balsham, a monk and sub-prior of Ely, who succeeded in the bishopric of Ely William of Kilkenny, the founder of the first University exhibition at Cambridge, began by engrafting secular scholars upon the ancient Hospital of S. John the Evangelist, which had been founded in the year 1135 by an old Cambridge family. His experiment failed signally, inasmuch as the canons would have nothing to do with secular students, and his scholars were moved to two hostels 'hard by the Church of S. Peter without Trumpington Gate,' and there formed the separate foundation of Peterhouse. Bishop Bateman in like manner settled his young canonists in a hostel of the Ely monks which stood upon part of the site now occupied by Trinity Hall.

Pembroke College was founded by Marie de S. Paul, a warm friend of the Franciscans, and better known as Marie de Valence, Countess of Pembroke. Her father was Guy de Châtillon, Comte de St. Paul, and from him she inherited large estates in France. She is the 'sad Châtillon' of Gray's Installation Ode, where he enumerates the royal benefactors of the University :—

'Great Edward, with the lilies on his brow,
From haughty Gallia torn ;
And sad Châtillon, on her bridal morn
That wept her bleeding love, and princely Clare,
And Anjou's heroine, and the paler rose,
The rival of her crown and of her woes,
And either Henry there.
The murdered saint and the majestic lord
That broke the bonds of Rome.'

The interesting tale was that her husband was killed in a tilting match on her wedding day, but unsympathetic annalists have thrown doubts on this legend.

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Be this as it may, there is no doubt whatever that the Countess was soon left a widow, and that the untimely loss of her husband first turned her thoughts to deeds like that to which Pembroke College owes its rise. She gave large endowments to a nunnery at Waterbeach, and as a final *vale* solemnly adjured the Fellows of her college to give their best counsel and aid to the abbess and sisters of Deney. 'The area of the diminutive court of Pembroke Hall, the smallest in the University, was completely purchased before 1351, and the foundress most likely put her scholars into the houses which stood on it' (iii. 255). Originally this 'old court' must have been one of the most attractive features of Cambridge, and indeed it was so till very lately, though it was ashlarred in 1717. It was 'unquestionably a closed quadrangle, and the first at Cambridge, in the plan of which a chapel was included' (iii. 255). Since Professor Willis wrote, the College has passed through the hands of Mr. Waterhouse.

'The quadrangle of Corpus Christi College,' Professor Willis says, 'built, as shown in the history of the College, between 1352 and 1377, possesses a simplicity of arrangement which may fairly entitle it to be the first originally planned close quadrangle, for it consists of a hall range on the south, containing the hall, master's lodge, and kitchen, and of chambers on the other three sides. The buildings are low and of the same height all round.'

Now begins what Willis calls 'the real history of collegiate architecture.'

'Hitherto,' continues our author, 'we have seen the collegiate buildings rising, slowly and piecemeal, and never completed during the lifetime of their founder. Now, for the first time in the history of collegiate architecture, a founder, having organized a college on a large and comprehensive system, resulting from the experimental essays of his predecessors, purchases a site, and in six years finishes his buildings at Oxford as well as his preparatory college at Winchester. The two were built between 1379 and 1393, at the beginning of the reign of King Richard II.' (iii. 256).

Wykeham's buildings served as a model for all the large foundations which were subsequently undertaken, and from henceforth we are able to trace with certainty the progress of college buildings.

William Longe, or Perot, better known as William of Wykeham, a little village in Hampshire, was born there in 1324, towards the close of Edward II.'s reign, and, like Walter de Merton, rose very rapidly into favour with his king, Edward III. According to Chaundeler, who, within fifty years of William's death, was Chancellor of the University of

Oxford and Warden of New College, he never studied at any university, but went to a school at Winchester, and was there taken into the family of Nicholas Uvedale, lord of the manor of Wykeham and governor of Winchester Castle, who recommended him to Edyngdon, Bishop of Winchester, by whom, in conjunction with his earlier patron, he was made known to Edward III. The prerogative of Anglo-Saxon kings to nominate and support a comitatus was claimed and exercised for centuries by nobles, chancellors, and other representatives of royal authority, who maintained and educated in their households the sons of nobles and friends. Becket and Wolsey were served by the sons of English and foreign peers; Sir Thomas More was brought up by Cardinal Morton, and William of Wykeham, as the 'henxman' of his feudal lord, may have easily learned in his service the 'curtesie,' 'gramer,' and French which made him the acceptable companion and adviser of his king when the Treaty of Bretigny was signed at Calais in 1360. The architectural instinct must have been developed in his earliest days, for in 1356 he was, by patent, surveyor of the King's works at Windsor, and in a few more years all the royal castles were in his hands, and he rebuilt the cloister of the chapter-house and body of the collegiate church of S. Martin's-le-Grand, of which he himself was dean. He may have given the designs for Edward's new seal, and influenced his work at Westminster as well as at Windsor; but those we are certain that he carried out at Oxford and Winchester are abundant evidence of a professional skill which enabled him to produce architectural effects of the highest order, notwithstanding the noble simplicity of the style which he employed. 'In New College,' Willis points out, 'for the first time the chapel, the hall, the library, the treasury, the master's lodging, sufficient ranges of chambers, the cloister, and the various domestic offices are provided for and erected without change of plan. One large quadrangle includes the six first and principal elements of collegiate architecture.' The quadrangle, which is about 150 feet long from east to west, and 125 feet from north to south, is entered on the west side through a tower gateway, now for the first time introduced. The west and south sides are wholly devoted to chambers, the east side principally to rooms of common use. The upper floor contains the library, the lower the bursar's rooms. But the most original feature of the arrangement is that the chapel and hall form a continuous range of building on the north side, the altar of the former being placed against the partition wall, which has the high table of the latter on its

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other side. The chapel therefore has no east window, but in lieu thereof a lofty pile of tabernacle work and imagery covers the whole surface of the east wall. The ante-chapel occupies two bays of the seven into which the length of the chapel is divided, but it has the novel peculiarity of projecting considerably north and south, in the manner of transepts, so that the whole place looks like a cross church lacking the nave. Hence many have imagined that this plan was imitated from the chapel of Merton College, not remembering that the transepts of the latter were erected forty years after Wykeham's, and that the remains of three western arches now filled with masonry show that a nave with aisles formed part of the original design, this building being heretofore, as now, both a collegiate chapel and a parochial church. No nave, however, was intended at New College, and the statutes furnish a clue to the motives for the large ante-chapel by enjoining that disputations in civil law, canon law, and theology are to take place therein' (iii. 258).

William of Wykeham was, like Walter of Merton, a Churchman and a statesman, whose early determination to devote his wealth to charitable purposes was never turned aside by the pressure of the political controversies in which he took an active part, or by the fascinations of the luxurious and extravagant court with which he was familiar.

In 1367 he succeeded Edyngdon, by the favour of King Edward III., and the jealousy with which his appointment was regarded proved perhaps that the firmness and force of character which he showed afterwards in dealing with the abuses disclosed on his first visitation was already recognized and feared. It is said that when the King had been told that 'a penny clerk, one wise in building castles,' was not worthy of the dignity to which he proposed to raise him, the Bishop's prophetic reply was, 'Sire, I am indeed unworthy, but wherein I am wanting myself, I will supply by a brood of more scholars than all the prelates of England have ever shown.' The story may be a romance; but he tells us himself, as his biographer points out, that he could not find where the rules of the several religious orders agreed with the lives of their several professors, or where the ordinances of their founders were observed by any of them according to their true design and intention, and if these opinions were no secret it is not difficult to explain the apprehension created by his advancement.

Between 1349 and 1381 five plagues had broken out in England, and carried off half the population and nine-tenths

of the clergy. Parish churches were closed and services discontinued. The schools at Oxford were shut up and the scholars dispersed and dead. Illiterate men were being admitted to holy orders because no others came forward to fill the vacancies caused by disease. Seven bishops are said to have died in 1361, and if this disappearance of clergy was going on side by side with a deterioration in the religious orders, the Bishop's thoughts would naturally be occupied with schemes for remedying the desolation of the Church by relieving poor scholars from the expenses of their clerical education, and for refilling the empty lecture rooms of the University. Even in the text of the Treaty of Bretigny between Edward III. and the Dauphin, there is a proof that the occupations of men of peace were encroaching on those of men of war, though fostered by such ambitious warriors as the King and his son. That document contains an article which secures the privileges granted to students attending French and English universities, and as William of Wykeham was the King's secretary when it was drawn up, it is most likely that he was the author of the provision which was evidently meant to support the scheme of university extension with which his name is inseparably connected.

New College, or, as he named it, 'Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre in Oxenforde,' was not so much in advance of Walter de Merton's schemes as the subsidiary institution known as 'Seinte Marie College of Wychestre,' built on the site of the school to which he had gone as a boy. The Merton family arrangement at Malden had, for some unknown reasons, been abandoned; but this school at Winchester was the beginning of the English public school system, and its traditions were to be handed on and on by Henry VI., John Colet, Edward VI., John Lyon, and Richard Sutton.

On the chapel wall of the interior quadrangle, opposite the second gateway, he placed a coat of arms, attributed to the family of the founder of his fortunes, Sir Nicholas Uvedale, so that the school is a memorial of his dearest friend as well as a legacy to successive generations. He settled in it a warden and ten Fellows, whom he likened, after the fashion of his day, to the eleven Apostles when Judas had fallen, six chaplains and clerks, representatives of the six orthodox deacons, seventy scholars, and sixteen choristers. The head master, or 'Informator,' the under-master, or 'Hostiarius,' and the seventy scholars were held to be typical of the seventy-two disciples, according to the Vulgate, who were sent forth two and two. A similar conceit is found in Colet's statutes

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for his school at S. Paul's. 'There shall be taught in the scole children of all nations and contres indifferently to the number of cliii, according to the number of the seates in the scole;' alluding to the number of fishes taken by S. Peter (S. John xxi. 11).

We wish that Professor Willis had found in his History a place for Winchester School, as he has for Eton; but he confines himself to the Bishop's works at Oxford, and points out the extent to which they were copied by his friends, though they obtained no imitators at Cambridge. S. Bernard's College, founded for the Cistercians by Archbishop Chichele, was one imitation, Waynflete's magnificent structure was another, and if 'the design for the whole College (King's College, Cambridge) as contained in the will of King Henry VI.' had been followed, 'a closed quadrangle was intended, of which the chapel would have formed the north side; the west side would have been occupied by the hall and the provost's lodging, and the north and east by chambers. Westward of the chapel there would have been a cloister like Wykeham's, with a lofty detached campanile' (iii. 265).

The bishop's gateway towers both at New College, Oxford, and Winchester were copied in both Universities. The New College tower is in three floors, divided by strong courses, the third stage having extern a central tabernacle niche, flanked by narrow windows and smaller niches with kneeling figures. Archbishop Chichele's architect gives the tower at All Souls' four stages, and at Bernard College the tower is in three stages, and the central window of the second stage is an oriel. Both these compositions are quite unaltered. The latter design found great favour and was copied at Balliol College and other colleges. At Magdalen College and Brasenose we meet with two other original designs of great beauty.

At Cambridge 'we find seven specimens of a totally different type, having four flanking turrets, of which one on the interior is sometimes made larger than the others to contain a staircase.'

The first gateway tower built at Cambridge is that which was begun at King's Hall in 1426-27, and has ever since been called King Edward's Tower.

King's Hall has disappeared, but the gateway which now stands at the west end of Trinity College Chapel is its original entrance, removed from its original position and set up in the year 1600 where it now stands.

'Only the arch and front wall between the turrets belongs to the original; the side turrets are manifestly a reconstruction, and are smaller than the originals, and the hinder part has been so built without regard to the former disposition. Its present position only requires one ornamental face. But in its former state it was the entrance gateway of the College, and must have had an exterior and an interior façade, one of which with its flanking towers has therefore disappeared' (iii. 289).

The great gateway tower of Trinity College was built in 1518, and the statues which decorate it seem to be part of a general ornamentation of the entrance of the College, which took place to commemorate the two visits of James I. in March and May 1615 (ii. 489).

In 1565 Dr. Caius built on the south side of Gonville Hall a new court to receive the Fellows and scholars of his new foundation, and introduced the new principle of having the south side open to the sun.

'We decree that no building be constructed which shall shut in the entire south side of the College of our foundation, lest for lack of free ventilation the air should become foul, the health of our College, and still more the health of Gonville's College, should become impaired, and disease and death thereby be rendered more frequent in both' (*Statutes*).

William of Wykeham had adopted low roofs, which admitted more sunshine and air to his courts than the earlier erections of high roofs containing garrets; but Dr. Caius went further, and his example and the influence which he possessed as a physician produced a very practical effect in Cambridge.

His court 'was formed by two parallel ranges of buildings on the east and west sides, by the chapel and part of the master's lodge of Gonville Hall on the north side, and by a low wall containing the detached entrance gateway, called the "Gate of Honour," on the south side' (iii. 275); and the new College of Emmanuel, commenced in 1584, was planned with two quadrangles, open respectively to the north and east.

Sidney College, built in 1595, was arranged in two quadrangles side by side, open on the west; and 'Nevile's Court at Trinity College was formed, like the court of Caius College, by a pair of parallel wings added to the older buildings and connected along the west side by a wall containing a gate leading to the walks. These examples were all the works of the same architect, Ralph Symons' (iii. 276), a native of Berkhamstead, who settled in Cambridge and was first employed to convert the remains of the Dominican convent there into

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Emmanuel College. This building has been altered, but its original aspect is preserved in Loggan's work. It was probably under his direction that the great court of Trinity College, in the same University, was set out. He undoubtedly made the design for the second court of S. John's, and Professor Willis suggests that he may have designed Nevile's Court, in which case he must have the credit of having built the choicest specimens of collegiate architecture at Cambridge.

Oxford disapproved of Dr. Caius's sanitary schemes, and built eight completely closed quadrangles, that added to S. John's by Archbishop Laud being prompted by jealousy of the collegiate growth of Cambridge. Sir Christopher Wren liked the open court, and recommended its adoption at Oxford when he was employed at Trinity College; and his pupil Hawkesmoore adopted it at All Souls' and Queen's Colleges.

We have not space to dwell on the different positions assigned in the two Universities to the various parts of a college, and to show how the favourite type of the Cambridge quadrangle has the hall parallel to and remote from the street of entrance, and therefore at the opposite side to the gateway, while at Oxford the hall is usually elsewhere; but we must not leave unnoticed the theory maintained by the Professor that the plan of a Cambridge college was in many points identical with that of the great English mansions of the fifteenth century.

This theory was first put forward in a lecture on the conventional buildings at Canterbury delivered in 1847. The general principles of arrangement employed in the dining-halls of the Middle Ages have been retained, as he pointed out, in the dining-hall in the Universities and Inns of Court; but in speaking of the hospitia as long ranges of buildings in which travellers could sleep as well as find space to walk to and fro for exercise and conversation, he added, 'For private converse these galleries had one or more recesses in their sides. Haddon Hall and Queens' College, Cambridge, retain such galleries, of which, indeed, many other examples remain.'

When these words were spoken the history of the architecture of the collegiate system was foreshadowed.

Queens' College, to which the Professor referred, is 'the work of an excellent architect, and although its aspect has been much deteriorated, partly by the mutilations of the last century, when mediæval architecture was despised, and partly by the grotesque additions of our own time, it still retains its characteristic features sufficiently to preserve the original idea.

It may be regarded not only as a most valuable architectural example, but as a type of the collegiate arrangements of the period' (iii. 265).

The site on which the founder, Henry VI., intended, in the first instance, to place this college, then called the College of S. Bernard, was on the east side of what is now called Queen's Lane, but the society, which at that time consisted of Andrew Doket and four Fellows, found difficulties in the way of establishing themselves on it, selected a new side and got the King to sanction the change. Soon after this the Queen, Margaret of Anjou, petitioned her husband to grant to her 'the foundation and determination of the college,' which she proposed to call the 'Queen's College of Sainte Margarete and Saint Bernard,' and in 1448 she founded a new society. The Queen intended to lay the first stone of her college in person, but being prevented, commissioned her chamberlain, Sir John Wenlock, to act as her representative, which he did on the day on which the charter was executed. The stone is said to have been laid at the south-east corner of the chapel, and to have borne this inscription: '*Erit Domine nostre regine Margarete dominium in refugium, et lapis iste in signum;*' but in a few years Sir John Wenlock was slain, Queen Margaret was a fugitive, and another Queen, who had once been one of Margaret of Anjou's ladies in waiting, gave the college its statutes.

The fabric has passed through many trials. Between the west side of the hall range and the river are placed two other courts, the Cloister Court and the Pump Court, often called Erasmus's Court, because that eminent scholar had chambers in the turret which rises at the south-east angle. Nearly two sides of this court were taken down in 1756, to be replaced by what was called by the then president 'an ornamental building,' and there was an intention of reducing the whole river front to the same condition.

It is remarkable that this change was effected by Mr. Essex, an architect of repute at Cambridge, who was a careful student and admirer of mediæval work. Cambridge, however, possessed somewhat before Mr. Essex's time an amateur architect, Sir James Burrough, Master of Caius, who was employed in 1732 to convert the hall 'into an Italian chamber.' The chapel had its vicissitudes, like the hall. The notorious William Dowsing 'beat down' 110 superstitious pictures in 1643, and in 1773 it 'was entirely taken to pieces and new modelled, though it seemed to want it very little.' Happily for us Queens' College escaped the epidemic of

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ashlar which broke out about this time, and the original red brickwork of the external walls remains. The entrance tower, with its lierne vault and original wooden doors, has escaped the beautifying process recorded in college records with so much satisfaction, and if the outlines of the President's lodge to-day differ from Loggan's it is still one of the most precious relics of the lost taste of our forefathers which Cambridge possesses. This History supplies plans of Haddon Hall and of the college which enable us to compare the striking similarity there is in the distribution of the parts of the two structures.

The special point, however, is the position assigned to that peculiar chamber the gallery, described by Professor Willis in his lecture on the conventual buildings at Canterbury. The gallery is a feature of Cambridge lodges, which distinguishes them from those of Oxford, and seems to have followed naturally from the cloister of the monastery, which was a provision for the daily exercise of those who lived in seclusion, just as the gallery of a gentleman's mansion was necessary for the recreation of his guests. 'It was arranged in connexion with the college hall and parlour in the same relative position as the gallery of a mansion with respect to the banquetting-hall, and with drawing-rooms beyond' (iii. 339).

The History contains illustrations of the Queens' College gallery within and without, as well as drawings of the panel work which lines the inner walls, and it is much to be regretted that such specimens of the extreme beauty of the details of our domestic architecture should be so little known.

The memory of Erasmus, the friend of Colet, Grocyn, and Linacre, is preserved at Queens' in one of its walks, as well as in its courts. The College accounts for 1684 contain the record of making the walk, since called Erasmus's Walk, 'along the south side of the ditch separating the common west of Queens' College from King's College' (ii. 58).

If it is true that his patrons left him to starve on the sour beer of Cambridge, at any rate Cambridge has not forgotten her Lady Margaret's professor.

Queens' College had a special building for the performance of plays, or, as the records call it, 'a stage house,' and the press for the actors' dresses still exists in the Muniment Room. Dramatic performances in the College halls were far from uncommon. When King James visited Cambridge in 1615, the comedy 'Ignoramus,' which was performed before him at Clare Hall, was written by one of its Fellows, and the chief parts taken by Fellows of the society, who became afterwards deans of cathedrals, or bishops, or secretaries of State. On

the occasion of his second visit the second performance of the same play took place in the hall of Trinity College, and 'his Majesty was much delighted with the play and laughed exceedingly, and oftentimes with his hands and by words applauded it.' The performance lasted five hours at the least.

The statutes given by Elizabeth to this college prescribed the annual performance of plays in hall during the twelve days of Christmas. In 1564 plays were performed before her in the ante-chapel of King's College, and some three or four later dramatic representations were given in the chapel of Jesus College. There was a comedy room at Trinity College.

The Colleges of Corpus Christi and Jesus have special attractions also from the peculiar circumstances of their origin. The principal authority for the history of the former is the *Short Account (Historiola)* drawn up in Latin for the use of Archbishop Parker, the authorship of which is usually ascribed to John Jocelyn or Josselin, Fellow of Queens' College and Latin secretary to the Archbishop. This treatise has been printed for the first time by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (1879), edited by Mr. Clark, who describes it as 'one of the earliest attempts to write the architectural and social history of a college.' The account seems to have been drawn up about 1569, and suggests striking contrasts between the æsthetic (?) fittings of to-day and the mud floors, unplastered walls, unglazed windows, and rough rafters with which our forefathers seem to have been perfectly familiar and content. Connected with this college is the venerable Church of S. Benedict, whose real age and origin is such a bone of contention between archæological factions.

Jesus College is a converted nunnery, whose plan shows how strong the family resemblance is between the monastic and the collegiate disposition of halls and chambers. It still retains in the fragments of the ancient transeptal church some of the finest examples of pure lancet work or 'Early English' which students can profit by, and side by side with them may be still found specimens of the intensely economical architecture of Bishop Alcock, the founder of the college, whose chapel with its rich tabernacle work occupies the east end of the north aisle of the presbytery of the cathedral at Ely, of which he was bishop.

But we dare not linger over the narrow escape the college had of being 'beautified' in the last century 'by transforming its Gothick features into as perfect Venetian as might be practicable,' nor its later vicissitudes, but must devote what

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space we have left to some of the notes on the former social habits of the University which are supplied by the essays to which we have already made allusion.

The chapter on 'Chambers and Studies' furnishes an account of the primitive arrangements at Cambridge and Oxford, singularly at variance with those now in force. Each chamber of a college, with few exceptions, was occupied by several persons, who dwelt, slept, and pursued their studies therein (iii. 299). The earliest statutes, those for Merton College, Oxford, 1270, do not define the number in each chamber, but by directing that 'in every chamber wherein the scholars of the house reside there shall be one of more mature age than the others, to take care of them,' it is plain that at least three must have been lodged together. 'At Cambridge the statutes of Pembroke College provide that each of the Fellows, in order of seniority, beginning with the master, are to select their studies in such a manner that in each chamber there may be at least two Fellows.' Those of Peterhouse, Clare Hall, and King's Hall all direct that two only are to be lodged together.

The habits of Oxford were more gregarious. Wykeham put 'at least three Fellows or scholars in each of his upper chambers and four in each of his lower chambers. Each occupant is to have a separate bed, and one of the Fellows is to be older than the others, to exercise authority over them, and occasionally to inform the warden, the sub-warden, and the deans of their behaviour and progress as students.' The corresponding statute for King's College, Cambridge, 1443, copying as usual the words of Wykeham, diminishes the number of persons in each room by substituting two and three respectively for the numbers given in his statute. At Magdalen College, Oxford, Bishop Waynflete puts four in his upper chambers, two of whom had 'principal beds' and two 'beds on wheels,' or truckle beds. At Brasenose only the Fellows were to sleep alone, and other members of the college either alone or in pairs, 'according as the principal may direct.' At Gonville and Caius College, 1572, every Fellow shared his room with an indigent scholar. Dr. Samuel Knight, in his Life of Dr. John Colet, speaking of Roger Cotes, who took his degree in 1702, says, 'I could run out many Pages on the just Character of this extraordinary Man, being very intimate with him, and having the Opportunity of knowing him perfectly, by being his Chamberfellow many years in *Trinity College in Cambridge*.'

The term 'chamberfellow' became gradually shortened

into 'chum,' and though the practice of lodging two in a room has long been abandoned, the memory of it survived in King's College, Cambridge, so late as 1851, when every new scholar was assigned to an older one for a week as his 'chum,' the former being termed his 'nib.'

The internal arrangements of the chambers in which these parties of three or four were established have been so completely altered to suit the changed tastes of their inhabitants that it was difficult to discover what their original disposition had been even with the statutes as guides; but before 1868 there were still standing the Perse and Legge Chambers at Caius College, the north side of the Perse building abutting on Trinity Lane, and the east side of the Legge building on Trinity Street; and the contracts for building them existed in the College treasury. These buildings were fortunately examined and planned by Professor Willis before their destruction by Mr. Waterhouse, with the sanction of the College. The contract for the Legge building, dated January 18, 1618-19, provides that it shall be 'three stories in heyght with garretts or excelses in the top of the Rooffe . . . the lower storie to be eightene foote wide within the walls and to be parted into foure Chambers, every Chamber to have three convenient Studdies a peece,' &c. &c., and it is thus interpreted by the author of the History:—

'In the actual buildings the number of the floors, chambers, and staircases in each agrees perfectly with the description in the contract, but new partitions have been set up in a manner which is perfectly explicable after the garrets have been examined, for the garret-floor of Legge's building fortunately retains its original distribution, having been from time immemorial, and apparently from the want of fireplaces, abandoned as a lodging-place for students, allowed to fall into a state of dilapidation, and employed solely as a lumber room for packing-cases and fuel. . . . Every chamber has two small closets parted off by stud partitions at the corners, which must be the studies mentioned in the contract, for each of them is provided with its own garret window and door, the chamber itself being lighted by a similar window between the closets. The chamber is nine feet wide and about twenty feet long, but it is only six feet eight inches high, and the roof slopes over it excessively on both sides of the closet. The studies are about four feet wide and from five to six feet long. The two bedsteads were of course placed at the corners of the room, opposite to the window wall, so that the four corners of the chamber were occupied, two by the beds and two by the studies. We thus obtain the complete arrangement of an Elizabethan college room' (iii. 306).

Every room in the Perse building and also in the Legge building was planned, and found to correspond literally with

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the terms of the contract. The same arrangements were found to have existed at other colleges, and some of the chambers on the basement had never been floored.

'In the south range of the principal quadrangle of New College, Oxford, which has suffered the least alteration, each chamber window towards the court has two lights and is placed between two small single-light windows, as in the Legge building at Cambridge, and there are two similar single-light windows opposite to them in the back wall. Thus three studies are provided for, one of them being nestled under the landing of the staircase' (iii. 312).

We find from the history of King's that each chamber had a name, thus: the first scholar's chamber next the gate called Lyon's Inn, 2nd do. Taylor's Inn, 3rd do. the Tolebothe, &c.; and the chambers at Winchester College were found by Mr. Cockerell to be distinguished by proper names, such as the Vine, the Baptist's Head, the Conduit, the Crane's Dart, the Vale, the Cock. The beds in these apartments must all have been placed in the great room, the folding ones on wheels packed under the principal ones, and privacy must have been sought entirely in the cupboards, called studies. Each study had its door; the stud partitions in many of them were finished with reeds coated with an excessively hard plaster nearly an inch thick; the ceiling was constructed in the same thorough manner, and these rooms must have been, and indeed were, warmer, even without the aid of a fireplace, than the chambers produced by the modern speculative builder. In the early colleges the windows were unglazed, and closed with wooden shutters. The plastering, panelling, glazing, and flooring of the rooms at Corpus Christi College were almost entirely done for the first time between 1508 and 1562, and where panels and plaster were not to be had, tapestry, green say, 'dornick, or perpetuana' concealed the roughness of the walls. These small cells for study are, like so many items of the collegiate system, an adaptation of the 'carrells' provided in cloisters for student monks, with an *armarium commune*, or common book-case, fixed to the cloister wall, just as the common fire in the parlour is a reminiscence of the Benedictine 'Common House' (iii. 379). At Oxford every college has now a 'Common Room,' but in a totally different position from that which obtains at Cambridge for the Combination Room. No Common Room is found in William of Wykeham's buildings at New College, for though he permitted the Fellows and scholars 'to assemble round the fire in the Hall on festivals, and there devote a reasonable time to amusement,' on ordinary days the seniors

were to return to their studies and to take care that the juniors did not linger in the Hall (iii. 381).

The Oxford Common Rooms did not consequently come into fashion till the latter half of the seventeenth century, and were then placed where room for them could best be found; but at Cambridge 'a large room on the ground floor at the high table end of the Hall, with a door of access from the same, is found in' nearly all colleges. When there were no chimneys in chambers this combination room, or parlour, was the sitting-room of the Fellows, where they played on 'ye violls' or organ, wrote, and indulged in games of cards. The fire was kept up by bequests and donations. In 'Emmanuel Parlour,' when Richard Farmer, D.D., was Master (1775-97), all the wit and literature of the University were to be found.

We doubt, however, whether the difference between an Elizabethan and Victorian 'study,' or college chamber, is greater than the contrast between its inhabitants at these respective periods. Oxford and Cambridge were places at which children were educated long before colleges began, and the word 'scholar,' or 'student,' is a very ambiguous one according as we use it in its technical sense or as representing an ordinary schoolboy. Mr. Anstey has described the 'Fetcher' collecting little boys all over the country, and establishing them at the 'Cardinal's Hatte' at Oxford, before handing them over to the schools of the religious houses or to the secular ones.

Cambridge had its 'Cardinal's Hatte,' at which its 'Fetchers' no doubt assembled their flocks, very much as the chaplains, or principals, of modern 'International Colleges' on the banks of the Rhine, or in the valleys of Switzerland, graciously undertake to pilot their English pupils through the dangers of the Channel steamer and of the frontier custom-house. Scholars were of all ages from ten to twenty, and the early fellowships at Balliol were merely exhibitions for the maintenance of students until the end of their course of study in arts. These early schools must have been very like the Dames' houses of to-day, save only that the functions of the Dame were assumed in the college by the Fellow 'of mature age.' The period of residence necessary for obtaining the Master's degree was a long one, yet William Wotton, who went to Catharine's Hall in 1676, took his M.A. degree at the age of thirteen. Wolsey was a scholar at Magdalen College, Oxford, at eleven years of age, and took the degree of M.A. in 1490 at the age of nineteen. Jean Baptiste de la Salle, the founder of the great system of Ecoles Chrétiennes, entered the Univer-

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sity of Rheims as a student at eight years of age, and before he was sixteen was made a canon of the cathedral. Bede is said to have been ordained at the age of nineteen. Anthony Wood tells us himself that he was 'translated to New College School' when nine years old, and from him we get an account of the initiation of freshmen by 'salting' and 'tucking,' a custom which until five or six years ago was kept up at Eton by making every new collegier drink a glass of salted beer in hall soon after his admission.

Boys then entered the University, and even graduated, at the age at which they now go to public schools, and they retained the simpler, or ruder, habits which they brought with them from isolated and secluded homes, which knew nothing of newspapers, excursion trains, and Bank holidays. Even at the end of the sixteenth century it would seem that the practice of taking up food with the fingers prevailed (iii. 363); and the old monastic custom of having passages from the Bible and the Lives of the Fathers read by one of the collegiers at Eton when the Provost and Fellows dined in hall, had not been abandoned twenty years ago (iii. 367). A modern upholsterer would no doubt scorn the scanty furniture of a Perse 'studdie,' and wonder how people existed at all with only rushes on their floors in place of Indian rugs, but it is not so long ago that the Hall of Trinity College, Cambridge, was covered at the beginning of winter with sawdust, which was turned over with a rake as the upper surface became dirty, and only finally swept off when the weather got warm; and the late Master of Jesus, Dr. Corrie, who proceeded M.A. in 1810, remembered that when the successful prizemen were called up to receive their prizes between the courses of the Commemoration Dinner, a band in the music gallery of the Hall played *See, the Conquering Hero comes* and *Rule Britannia* alternately, as each undergraduate came forward for his prize, these being the only tunes which the musicians knew (iii. 358). Such was the use of music galleries in the present century.

The history of the University buildings occupies 244 pages of the third volume of the History. These buildings originally contained all the rooms required for the public life of the University before the popularity of the 'schools' was lessened by the college system—viz. the senate house, the library, registry, and lecture rooms for the professors in the different faculties. In the middle of the fifteenth century the ground floor of the schools quadrangle, which is now represented by the public library, was occupied on the south by the School of

Civil Law, and over it was the 'Libraria Magna.' On the north side of the area stood the Theology School, and on the west the School of Canon Law, with the Law Library, afterwards the 'Terence School,' above it. Over the Divinity School was the Regent House or Senate House. One of Loggan's prints shows a later arrangement; but the Senate House, the Registry, and these schools have found new sites, and the accommodation of the old quadrangle has been extended even in the present day by new schools and museums.

A library was first included in the plan of a college by William of Wykeham; but books had been bequeathed for the use of students before the foundation of colleges, and several copies of the Bible had been given to the University of Oxford by Roger de l'Isle, who was Dean of York in 1221 and 1226. 'Benedict Biscop' had his library; Bede had about him all the materials required by a student; every monastery had its library and scriptorium, where books were written, copied, illuminated, and preserved for the delight and instruction of the ever-increasing body of readers. Lanfranc's monks could borrow books from their library for a year, return them to the librarian, and borrow others. We can see and handle at Durham the books actually written and used by the builders of parts of its time-worn church.

Wynkyn de Worde started from a monastery to set up his printing-press, and Caxton found in another a congenial home.

Rules for the management of books occur in several of the earlier college statutes, and Professor Willis had given great attention to the minute regulations under which these primitive libraries could be used. The substitution of book-cases or stalls for boxes with triple locks and triple custodians, and the system of chaining each volume to an iron rod placed in front of a shelf, had occupied much of his attention; but he had never written out an account of his researches. He left a few notes and sketches suggesting his conclusions, and from these and other sources his nephew, Mr. Clark, has written one of the most interesting chapters in the History.

Walter de Merton provided that his house should supply his 'grammaticus' with books; Bishop Bateman presented to his college of Trinity Hall treatises on civil and canon law, the subjects in which he took most interest; and during the fifteenth century Queens', Pembroke, and other colleges at Cambridge became possessed of libraries, of which catalogues exist.

When the books were kept in chests they were forbidden

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to be either pawned, pledged, or lent to anyone beyond the college; but their safety was still more assured when they were in a manner riveted to bookstalls. But if the chains secured the preservation of literary treasures, they also prevented their being consulted with any comfort, and in the course of the eighteenth century the practice was finally abandoned.

The earliest specimen of a bookcase in either University is in the library of Merton College. The ends of the cases are rough oak planks, and a form in front of the case enabled a reader to sit and consult a chained volume lying on a desk attached to the case—a measure of comfort denied at Leyden, whose readers seem to have stood while they studied. The gradual changes in the designs of library fittings from the Merton simplicity to the classical compositions adopted by Wren and his copyists three centuries later are completely illustrated by admirable woodcuts, and amongst them is a 'diagrammatic sketch of a bookcase' in the old library of King's College, 'with a restoration of the ancient system of chaining, from a sketch by Professor Willis.' In 1695 Sir Christopher Wren completed the library for Trinity College, Cambridge, in which he designed the wood work as well as the building. His 'celles,' with tables, revolving desks, and stools, are, as might be expected, a considerable advance on the ideas of his predecessors, and his influence may be traced in the libraries of Emmanuel College and S. Catharine's Hall, and even in the north room of the University Library, which was fitted up by James Essex, father of the architect, to whose deeds at Queens' College reference has been made.

Modern tennis players may note that something closely approaching the simplicity of their favourite game seems to have been common in Cambridge in the seventeenth century. Of the sixteen Cambridge colleges, nine had tennis courts; but the courts shown in Loggan's prints consist of an open paved area between two side walls, with a penthouse along one side, forming what is technically known as a *jeu carré*, without the *dedans* of the Hampton Court example, which we believe to be the oldest existing tennis court in England. The upper edge of the net seems to be supported by a thickly-fringed rope, resembling, as far as it can be made out, that part of church bell ropes which passes through the ringer's hands. Considering the vast development of the garden variety of tennis in our own times, these particulars of its infancy will not be without interest.

Still more essential to a college was a bowling green, bowls

being a sedate after-dinner sort of game, suiting the stately movements of the fully developed don. We read how three Fellows of Trinity neglected their religious duties for a game of bowls, albeit the windows of the Master's lodge commanded the scene of their unhallowed sport. Of cricket, football, or boating there is not a word; and we know that a special ordinance existed forbidding a mediæval scholar 'to bathe in a river, pond, or any other water in the county' under pain of being flogged in the hall, or, if a Bachelor of Arts, of having his feet tied, and being set in the stocks for a whole day in the common hall of his college. But the large stables attached to every college prove that riding was as usual as it must have been necessary; and the brief notice of Downing College reminds us that the patriarch Gunning declared that he had shot snipe upon its site about the beginning of the present century.

The sums quoted as paid for 'making y^e Buttes' for archery in 1591, and the notices of summer houses, of the gardens, with their saffron, vines, and mulberry trees, the pigeon houses and the swans, and the mysterious 'Stangate Hole,' all give us the means of forming a complete picture of University life under the Tudors and Stuarts.

The essays on Eton, King's, and Trinity Colleges are, without doubt, the most interesting of all those devoted to the growth of the colleges at Cambridge, and show best the peculiar merits of Willis as an archæologist; but they must be read and studied before their value can be appreciated. Willis did not consider that he had learned all that an ancient building has to teach, until he had industriously searched every record which could throw light upon the date, purpose, and general history of each successive addition to it, so that at last he was able to tell its story as clearly as though he had been present when it was built. Few appreciated, and still fewer sympathized, with his labour; but those few will acknowledge that his hand had not lost its cunning when these particular essays were written.

Architectural taste at Cambridge, wearied with the classical tameness of Burrough and his imitators, was undergoing a violent reaction, in which it was seriously proposed to Gothicize Gibbs's fine building at King's. It was from Willis that modern architects, who had heretofore been content to form centos of the salient peculiarities of mediæval architecture, learned the principles on which it is based. He guided the movement which began at Strawberry Hill until, in our

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own day, it has rendered possible Mr. Penrose's scholarly restoration of the garden front of Magdalene College.

At last, after his death, a worthy monument has been erected to his fame in these volumes, which embody the labours of his life, and are unquestionably the greatest work of the kind issued in our times.

The method of treatment applied by him to the mediæval buildings of Cambridge has been admirably wrought out by Mr. Clark; the spirit of his uncle's investigations has never been lost sight of, and their names are fitly joined in the title-page of the History.

Lastly, we must commend the Syndics of the University Press for the public spirit shown in sanctioning the printing of these sumptuous volumes. That such a work should be issued by the University of Cambridge forms a fitting acknowledgment of its author's services to archæology.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Neo-Eucharistical System and the Methods adopted by its Advocates to make their Opinions prevail, illustrated in a late Example.

Two Letters to the Archbishops and Bishops of England. By the Rev. FREDERICK MEYRICK, M.A., Rector of Blickling, Non-Residentiary Canon of Lincoln. (London, Rivingtons, 1886.)

OUR Short Notices in the last number of the *Church Quarterly Review* were headed by an exposure of what we believed, and believe, to be highly inadequate teaching contained in a little book by Mr. Meyrick on the Doctrine of the Church of England on the Holy Communion. In justice to the author, for whose personal character we shall not cease to cherish feelings of esteem, we give a like prominence to his attempt to reply to our criticism, which forms the subject of the second of the 'Two Letters to the Archbishops and Bishops of England.' The first Letter is a reply to the *Church Times*, at which we have only glanced, and with which we have nothing to do. The *Church Times* is quite able to take care of itself.

Mr. Meyrick, we fear, is very angry indeed with us. It would have been more to the purpose if he had attempted to grapple with the argument of our Short Notice; instead of which he rides off upon side issues, and tries to fasten upon us charges which have really no foundation in fact, with the exception of the two following very trifling slips, for which we had offered privately to make reparation, in the present number, before his *brochure* was published.

1. The Reviewer ought to have inserted after the word 'again' (at

p. 228, line 22 from bottom) the words : 'adopting the language of Cassander.' 2. The Reviewer, through an oversight which he deeply regrets, inadvertently charged Mr. Meyrick with omitting a passage from Bishop Patrick, which that gentleman does in fact quote at p. 23 of his book. For these two errors we once more request him, and now request our readers to accept our frank apology. But with regard to the other charges contained in Mr. Meyrick's second Letter, we respectfully submit that he has altogether failed to substantiate them ; and to a consciousness of this failure it may not be wrong to ascribe the excessive asperity of his language regarding us, which we beg to assure him does not in the least disturb us. 'Has this reviewer,' he exclaims (p. 13) 'with a charge of want of candour in his mouth, been candid in his dealing with Mozley, and has he placed before the reader a true representation of his doctrine?' The answer to this is very simple. The Reviewer was in no way concerned to give any representation at all of 'Mozley's doctrine.' He quoted Mozley for one object, and one only, viz. as a witness—and, as even Mr. Meyrick must agree, an unbiassed witness—to the views of the Early Church on an Objective Presence in the Eucharist. As regards the double aspect of Holy Communion, by which the Eucharistic gift, in itself objective, follows, in the matter of reception, a subjective law, our Reviewer, it will be seen (p. 225), out-Mozleys Mozley. And if we were disposed to indulge in a *tu quoque*, we should venture to ask Mr. Meyrick whether it was 'candid' of him to ignore this fact, especially as we had, privately, called his attention to it, before the publication of his Letter. Then again, as regards the quotation which the Reviewer made (p. 228) from Jeremy Taylor, he complains that he has 'mutilated' the passage by not quoting the words that followed 'after a semicolon.' The Reviewer has nothing to lose by those words being added. He would have had everything to gain, on the other hand, by quoting the words which immediately preceded the extract, and which contain the tremendous comparison of the Eucharistic action, 'holding up the Son of God,' to that of 'Themistocles [who] snatched up the son of King Admetus, and held him between himself and death, to mitigate the rage of the king ; and prevailed accordingly.'

Where Mr. Meyrick has (in our judgment) gone utterly astray—if he will forgive us for saying so—is in the matter of Cosin's First Series of Notes. He will have it, that it 'is almost certain' that of that Series Cosin was not the author. We, on the other hand, contend that the evidence, both internal and external, is decisive on the subject. It is not irrelevant to remark that we believe it will be found that ever since Barrow's edition of them appeared, these Notes have again and again been quoted in ecclesiastical cases before the Law Courts, *without any exception being taken to the alleged authorship*. 'There can be no doubt,' says Barrow (Cosin's *Works*, vol. v. p. xiv), 'that they are Bishop Cosin's. Besides the entry in the catalogue of his library already cited, the handwriting would be quite decisive.' Barrow's researches, it must be remembered, had not been given to the world when Dr. Pusey—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—quoted these Notes as Overall's.

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Whether Cosin's or not, Mr. Meyrick next commits himself to the extraordinary statement that the writer of the Notes does not, in the passage quoted by the Reviewer, adopt as his own the words of Maldonatus. 'He nowhere says that the words are his own' (p. 15). Quite so. But if the 'Archbishops and Bishops of England,' to whom Mr. Meyrick carries his appeal, will turn up the volume of Cosin's works (vol. v. pp. 106-108), they will find that, whether Cosin 'says' so or not, adopt them he does, in the most unmistakable manner. Cosin leads off with some words of his own. He dovetails into these a somewhat free paraphrase of a passage from Maldonatus. Then follow words of his own, 'And therefore,' &c. Then some more of Maldonatus, followed by words of Cassander, which our Reviewer unfortunately omitted to note as his : an omission by no means surprising, for there is nothing but the presence of inverted commas to remind one that the whole of the passage, from first to last, is not Cosin's own. The *nexus sententiarum* entirely justifies this conclusion, that he adopted, or made his own, the words he quoted. If Mr. Meyrick will turn to writings which even he must admit to be Cosin's own, he will have no difficulty in finding passages far stronger than the passage quoted by the Reviewer, in condemnation of Mr. Meyrick's opinions.

For 'the false accusation as to Bishop Patrick' we have already offered our apology. The extravagance of Mr. Meyrick's vituperation—speaking as he does 'of the very midsummer madness of unscrupulous partisanship concealing itself under the name of criticism'—would cause considerable hilarity, if we thought it worth while to trouble our readers with the extremely commonplace and prosaic source of a mistake for which Mr. Meyrick resorts to such unworthy insinuations. The extraordinary part of it is how Mr. Meyrick can imagine that Bishop Patrick's words make for his view!

So, again, as regards the passage from Bull, Mr. Meyrick almost exhausts our patience. Can he not see that in quoting him the Reviewer was concerned only with the thing offered, not with the plea accompanying the offering? The fact is, however, that Mr. Meyrick is so wedded to one particular aspect of the Holy Communion that he seems incapable of taking an equitable view of the subject. How imperfectly he is acquainted with the historical side of Theology in the present century, may be seen from the fact that he actually speaks of Archdeacon Wilberforce as the founder of what he calls the 'Neo-Eucharistical System'; as if the revival of Catholic teaching on the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist had not taken place before the year 1853, when Archdeacon Wilberforce's well-known book was first published.

In parting with Mr. Meyrick, we feel the greatest pleasure in assuring him that we give him full credit when he declares (p. 19) that 'his object has been to restate fairly, simply, and honestly the doctrine of the Church of England as taught by her formularies and by her greatest theologians,' and we can only regret to say that, whatever may be the verdict of the 'Archbishops and Bishops of England,' to whose 'judgment' he submits 'his teaching' and his methods,' the *Church Quarterly Review* must continue to record 'a

firm but indignant protest' against the results at which he has, in perfect good faith, been so unfortunate as to arrive.—(Ed. C. Q. R.)

Lectures on Ecclesiastical History: including the Origin and Progress of the English Reformation from Wickliffe to the Great Rebellion. Delivered in the University of Dublin by WILLIAM FITZGERALD, D.D., Lord Bishop of Killaloe and Clonfert. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM FITZGERALD, A.M., and JOHN QUARRY, D.D., with Memoir of the Author's Life and Writings. (London: John Murray, 1885.)

THE literary executors of a deceased scholar have a difficult question to deal with in the disposal of his manuscripts. Bishop Fitzgerald himself had occasion in his *Life of Butler* to regret the dying command of the author of the *Analogy* which consigned his unpublished sermons to the fire. But in Butler's case there was a consideration which we are sorry to say does not hold in that of his biographer: namely, that the works published during his lifetime will sufficiently represent him to posterity. In this respect there is a closer parallel between Fitzgerald and Thirlwall. It would, indeed, be a flattery, which the Irish prelate would have decisively rejected for himself, were we to match him either for depth of scholarship or force of mind with the great Bishop of S. David's. Yet the comparison would not be extravagant. Fitzgerald, together with a character which deeply endeared him to his friends, possessed a balanced intellect enriched by devoted study. And his fate was very like that of Thirlwall. Each of them was banished to the far west of his country, to dwell amidst an alienated population of Celts; and each was so well satisfied with constant study, and so fully aware that new controversies are but the ghosts of old ones, as to feel little temptation to add to the mass of books already existing, and, as they too well knew, for the most part unread.

Bishop Thirlwall's representatives solved the problem of their trust by printing, together with correspondence, three valuable volumes of Remains collected from the pieces he had published in his lifetime, but which in their ephemeral form were practically lost to the world. Bishop Fitzgerald left materials for a similar collection, had it been judged the best memorial of him. We have before us as we write, a number of his sermons, essays, and tracts of various kinds, from the little volume on *Holy Scripture as the Rule of Faith*, and the *Essay on Logomachy*, to his latest Charges. From these an attractive volume or two might have been compiled which would have been practically new to the world, and the readers of which would have been conscious that everything in it had been intended and prepared for publication by the author.

Mr. Fitzgerald and Dr. Quarry have chosen another course, and considering the ability and affection with which they have discharged their task, we have no disposition to pronounce them wrong. They have printed two volumes of the Bishop's professorial lectures, which had lain by him for well-nigh thirty good years, without any attempt upon his part to prepare them for the press. It is possible that in

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choosing this course they were moved by the brilliant success of a similar proceeding in the case of the Bishop's predecessor in the chair of Moral Philosophy in Dublin, William Archer Butler. That admirable scholar and divine, whose loss to the Irish Church during her late and present difficulties has been irreparable, was little known to the public when he died. But his lectures on Ancient Philosophy found no meaner editor than the present Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and were recognized as filling a gap in the history of philosophy; while his sermons have taken a permanent place in divinity as amongst the noblest pulpit discourses of the Anglican Church.

We fear that we can hardly presage a similar future for the lectures of Bishop Fitzgerald, able as they are. We suppose that the executors have not been able to find among his papers an amount of matter sufficient for their purpose, and dealing with those subjects which are always fresh. But the fact is that upon many of the subjects of which these lectures treat, a great deal has been since discovered which their author could not know. A treatment of the Ignatian question, for instance, which concludes that the balance turns rather in favour of the Syriac text, is indeed out of date. And no notes are ever given us by the editors to point out the connexion between the Bishop's views and the subsequent development of inquiry. For instance, as to this very question, it would have been interesting to remark how the opinion of the sole genuineness of the epistle to the Romans, which the Bishop entertained when he was 'young and inexperienced, and therefore apt to make hypotheses,' is the very opinion which has been adopted and defended by M. Renan in the plenitude of his experience and celebrity. There are also in the lectures of the earlier course many marks to show that they are not in the condition in which their author would have published them. Some of them are unfinished, the concluding portions having been left to be delivered extempore. And we fear the poor Bishop, whose literary taste was exquisite, would have shuddered to see perpetuated in a whole page of print, the story of an old Scotchwoman and Mr. McGuffy, with which for the nonce he amused his class. Nor would he have retained eight pages upon the forgotten theories of Mr. Shepherd: a space which even at the time he felt to be excessive.

Even if such like flaws had been removed, we do not think that the Bishop is at his best in his lectures upon the early Church. He regards its personages and its remains from a Whatelyan standpoint, and often thinks less of his subject in itself than how it may furnish ground for a hit at the Puseyites. Worse still, he is deficient in that power of realization and sympathy without which so great a time, and men so great, cannot be even sketched in a manner to guide the student with profit. We are not of those who 'shrink as if from some profanity from the thought of imputing ambition to a martyr bishop of the second or third centuries' (vol. i. p. 264), or indeed, from imputing to him any fault at all, provided you do not ignore the faith and courage which made him a martyr. Cardinal Newman is in these

lectures frequently the subject of criticism, and of just criticism too, but whatever the faults of his *Church of the Fathers* and his *Callista*, they at least enable one to feel how Christians worshipped and suffered. And their author would hardly have left this sentence as the last word in a lecture on S. Cyprian: 'And, if the honest truth must be owned, I must confess that I fear that Cyprian's early rhetorical education had not improved his sincerity' (vol. i. p. 214).

But where the occasion calls for large historical judgments rather than for personal sympathies, we often find, even in the earlier course of these lectures, passages admirable both for truth and eloquence. Take the following account of the right by which the Catholic Church claimed to be the true heir of the old Roman spirit.

'The resolute iron spirit of the old Romans had melted away in the State under a general relaxation of morals. The severe discipline of private families, which had formed the stern and continent statesmen and soldiers of the Republic, was gone. The very idea of the Republic itself, as the object of any strong patriotic feeling, as a thing to be warmly loved and nobly struggled for, had faded from men's minds, or was remembered only as a schoolboy's theme. It was not the respect and veneration of their fellow-citizens and a moral influence over the minds of their countrymen that leading persons any longer coveted. It was the favour of a despotic prince or of his baser minions; it was this, as the means of acquiring wealth and power to be used as mere instruments of luxury and self-indulgence, which was the prize that public men proposed as the aim of their political career. Nor was there in the whole political world of the Roman Empire a single element of salvation to remedy such a state of things and restore the temper of the Camilluses and Scipios. So completely, indeed, had all traces of that old Roman character disappeared from Rome, that one might have supposed it not only hidden but extinguished, if it were not that the circumstances of the Christian Church rekindled it in a fresher atmosphere, and fanned it into a still more brilliant blaze. Christianity restored effectually what nothing else could, that severe discipline and self-command which is the foundation of private virtue and the guarantee of public. It substituted in the Church a newer and still more stirring object of generous self-devotion than the worn-out image of the Republic, and it gave that image what the State had lost, the consecration of fresh and active religious feelings. The sacred associations connected with the city of Rome were the feeble relics of an out-worn mythology: Romulus and Remus, and Jupiter of the Capitol, and the Sybilline Books, and the eternal fire of Vesta, belonged to a bygone age, and their power was scarcely able to excite one throb of emotion in any Roman bosom. But the sacred associations connected with the Church of Rome were living and active, and came upon men's minds with a vivid sense of reality, bringing the supernatural with a startling effect once more into the dull sphere of ordinary life. Romulus and Remus were the fading phantoms of a dissolving dream. Peter and Paul were the heroes of a recent work which had impressed a new impulse upon the world, and while their high thoughts combined to give strength and power to the revived character of Christian Romans, the constitution of the Church served still more to confirm that strength and energize that power of character. It was like the old Roman, an aristocracy mixed with popular institutions. It was by winning the favour of the body of the faithful, that eminence amongst them was to be gained; and that eminence itself was a moral pre-eminence to be exer-

cised in influencing and guiding the general opinion of the mass' (vol. ii. pp. 1, 2).

Such passages are neither few nor far between even in the less finished portions of these lectures. And, had there been nothing but this to say of the whole, we must have pronounced that, though the work could not be recommended to the student as a complete treatment of the period, or as embodying the latest learning, it still formed no unworthy memorial of a man whose talents and virtues would have honoured any Church. The learned public might not have set sufficient value on the book to buy it, but the friends of the author must have gladly placed it within their reach, as reviving the sound of a voice they delighted to hear.

But the portion of the work which is devoted to the Reformation contains passages which seem to us to rise to higher value than that of a personal memorial of their writer, and claim an absolute historical importance. Not but what later works have superseded a great deal in this period also. Lectures on Wickliffe which know nothing of Lewald or Lechler; lectures on the sixteenth century which are unconscious of Brewer, Dixon, and their fellows, cannot possibly be recommended as written up to date. They do not furnish what the bishop, with the eighteenth-century quaintness which he loved to use, would call 'a just treatise.' Nor is it that we are at all disposed to agree in the correctness of the Bishop's view of the period. He is Protestant with a Protestantism which is even beyond the vulgar type; for he sees better than the vulgar where his principles lead, and accepts the situation. But the very excess of his Protestantism gives him a living sympathy with the movements and men in this later period which is wanting in the earlier; except, indeed, with the men who opposed the views which he favours. His essay on Laud reads but ill to those acquainted with Mozley. And we suppose there are very few historians now, of any opinions whatever, who would describe the poor and narrow and worldly age of Edward VI. as one in which 'the Reformers wished, as far as possible, to draw all classes of minds willingly under the influence of the national Church.' But in Erasmus, Fitzgerald found a mind somewhat akin to his own, and which he seems to have thoroughly studied; and his appreciation of that interesting character, seems to us of high value.

'The timidity of Erasmus was not at all so much that personal cowardice which has been so coarsely attributed to him, as fear for the whole cause of religion; lest in meddling hastily with the great structure of Church authority, the whole edifice of Christendom should fall in ruins. I believe that in the bottom of his heart he contemplated a much larger change in the system of Church doctrine, as likely to be the ultimate though gradual effect of his method of Reformation, than was ever contemplated by the German Reformer. I say as likely to be the result, and that word immediately suggests what was perhaps the radical difference between the two great men we have been comparing. Erasmus' disposition was sceptical, suspicious, and timid; Luther's peremptory, trustful, and full of hope. Erasmus only doubted many things in the Roman system which Luther absolutely rejected as not only false, but anti-Christian; but then he also doubted others upon which Luther's

mind rested as upon rocks of adamant. And it was, I think, the circumstance of the extent of Erasmus' doubts which mainly contributed to make him so cautious' (vol. ii. p. 185).

Bishop Fitzgerald's own ecclesiastical standpoint ought to be described in his own words: 'The true position of the Church of England is to furnish in itself a point of union between the other reformed and the other hitherto unreformed Churches. But by approaching too near to either of them, we should entirely sacrifice that position' (vol. ii. p. 204). We are by no means disposed to allow that in these lectures the *via media* is kept with the razor-edge scrupulosity here advocated; in every genuine question of principle the Protestant side is taken without hesitation or restraint. But, taking the position as defined, we should submit two observations to those who accept it. Firstly, that a theoretical *via media* has its proper issue in practice. It should offer to the Romanist and to the Protestant, not merely doctrines which they may consistently accept, but also modes of worship and of life which attract their feelings and agree with their spiritual bent. It requires, in order to remove it out of the regions of ghosts into that of embodied life, something on the one side which is sure to be accused of Ritualism, and something on the other which is sure to be accused of Methodism or of Rationalism. Mr. Goschen and Earl Grey support an intermediate position in politics by speaking and voting on every question that arises, with one party, though not always with the same. And if an ecclesiastical Moderate signalizes his moderation by never doing anything which can be accused of bias, he is, in our judgment, sacrificing all which can make his intermediate position of practical use. He offers no practical sympathy or attraction to either of the parties between whom he mediates. Secondly, we must remember that no *via media* man is happy enough to find himself in a state in which the accurate balance of his own mind is reflected in the condition of the Church around him. How, then, shall he maintain his fairness? Shall it be by saying nothing about the unfair condition of the general mind? If he takes this course, he inevitably gives his weight to the scale already over-weighted. Ought he not rather to throw his influence decidedly on the side which requires its help? Bishop Fitzgerald lived in a Church in which, through the vehemence of its enmity to the unreformed communion which comprised the vast majority of the people it had to deal with, all power to 'furnish a point of union' to that communion, or in any way to attract or influence its members, was utterly lost. The more we respect the Bishop's high character, and appreciate his intellect and acquirements, the more we regret that he should have practically done little to revive the forgotten portions of Catholic truth in the community to which he belonged, or to instruct that fanatical Protestantism the defects of which he knew so well.

It was a great misfortune that his mind should have been so exclusively directed to an unfavourable view of the great Church movement of his time. He never could have been an Evangelical; he saw the defects of that system too closely and too often. But if he,

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like Archer Butler, had been attracted by the Church movement, he would have found in it ample scope for his learning and his largeness of mind, together with an impulse of enthusiasm which his disposition needed. He would have considered an insinuation that Archbishop Whately did him little good as treasonable to the last degree : nevertheless, we entertain that impression. However, it will be happy for those who are the most effective leaders of party, if they leave behind them the remembrance of a life as simple and as pure as his. Greater powers of acquisition, of thought, and of expression, very few of them indeed can claim.

The Gospel according to S. Luke, with Notes, Critical and Practical.

By the Rev. M. F. SADLER. (London : George Bell and Sons. 1886.)

WE must begin our notice of this volume by offering Prebendary Sadler our hearty congratulations on the completion of his work on the four Gospels. The previous volumes were all reviewed in our columns as they appeared, and we have no hesitation in extending the welcome which we gave to them to their present companion. It is no slight distinction for a writer, after having made his reputation by what is confessedly the best popular work on Church doctrine, to have produced what we hold to be the best popular commentary on the Gospel narrative. There is no other occupying quite the same ground, and we cordially recommend these four volumes in the now familiar blue binding as for practical purposes the most useful to the general reader. Among many merits, not the least is the way in which the difficulties of the Gospel narrative are stated and dealt with. Everyone who has been in the habit of consulting many commentaries, must have frequently experienced a sense of painful surprise and disappointment at finding lengthy disquisitions and elaborate notes on points on which he was not seeking guidance, while just those verses which appeared to him to require most elucidation were passed over in silence by the commentator. We can assure the reader that he need fear no such disappointment in consulting the commentary now before us. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Sadler's explanations (and we are far from saying that we always agree with them), his candour and fearless honesty are conspicuous on every page of his work. There is no attempt to *shirk* difficulties, and no concealment of the facts, if sometimes it is not easy to explain them satisfactorily. The language is plain, direct, and straightforward, and we defy the duller reader to misunderstand it (a challenge which we should be shy of offering in the case of many commentators !)

It will be well perhaps to point out some passages on which especial pains have evidently been bestowed. Among these we would single out the notes on the Nativity and on our Lord's genealogy, on which Mr. Sadler takes the view that Heli was the father of the Blessed Virgin, and supports it by arguments which are certainly deserving of careful consideration. On the Temptation the practical notes are excellent, and strike us as some of the very best in the whole volume, though we confess that the excursus 'Was the Tempta-

tion objective or subjective?' scarcely satisfies us as an adequate discussion of a very difficult problem. Passing now to the later chapters, we cordially recommend the full and complete notes on the institution of the Holy Communion, with the doctrinal reflections thereon, as well as those on the account of the Crucifixion, together with the treatment of the apparent discrepancies between S. Luke and the other evangelists in their accounts of the occurrences of the morning of Easter Day. We are glad also to note that elsewhere we find ourselves in complete accord with Mr. Sadler on the subject of our Lord's use of the Apocrypha. There is a suggestive note on the parable of the rich fool, which we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting:—

'The groundwork of the parable with which our Lord now enforces His warning against covetousness seems to be found in the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus. Indeed, the resemblances, both verbal and material, are so striking, that we can hardly resist the conclusion that He either honoured that book by taking His illustration from it, or that the Spirit which was without measure in Him was also given to the son of Sirach, that He should give us what, if not to be appealed to for *doctrine*, is yet very profitable indeed for "reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." The passage runs: "There is that waxeth rich by his wariness and pinching, and this is the portion of his reward: whereas he saith, I have found rest, and now will eat continually of my goods; and yet he knoweth not what time shall come upon him, and that he must leave these things to others and die"' (Ecclus. xi. 18, 19). (P. 322.)

In writing on the Gospel of S. Luke, Mr. Sadler, as was to be expected, has been a diligent student of Godet's masterly Commentary. But while he often refers to this work with evident appreciation of its many admirable qualities, he is yet careful to point out its deficiencies, and scattered up and down the volume the reader will find many instructive criticisms of Godet's views on particular points. Indeed, Mr. Sadler's writing is characterized throughout by a wholesome independence. As regards previous commentators, he is 'nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.' And this feature, when combined, as it is, with a reverent appreciation of Catholic tradition, gives a high value to his work, and ought to ensure it a favourable reception.

In regard to questions of textual criticism, Mr. Sadler is distinctly conservative, and enters a firm though temperate protest against the principles adopted by Professors Westcott and Hort. In this subject the Gospel of S. Luke occupies an important position, not only because of the passages in ch. xxii. 43, 44, and xxiii. 34, which the Cambridge professors actually place in double brackets as 'Western interpolations adopted in eclectic texts,' but because it contains that remarkable group of clauses which these editors label 'Western non-interpolations' (clauses in xxii. 19, 20; xxiv. 3, 6, 12, 36, 40, 51, 52), in their treatment of which it has always seemed to us that they drive a coach and four through their theory with the same ease with which lawyers are said to perform a similar operation in regard to an Act of Parliament. In all these passages Mr. Sadler takes what we hold

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to be the true view, and retains the clauses as integral parts of the sacred text.

As we began this notice with congratulations, so we would end it with the expression of a hope that Mr. Sadler may be spared to continue his labours not only on the Acts of the Apostles, but also on the Epistles and the Apocalypse, and thus give us a complete practical Commentary on the New Testament.

The Pentateuch: its Origin and Structure. An Examination of recent Theories. By EDWIN CONE BISSELL, D.D., Professor of the Hebrew Language and Literature in the Hartford Theological Seminary. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1885.)

It gives us sincere pleasure to notice this book with warm praise, because it comes from our brethren across the Atlantic. It is, like Dr. Samuel Ives Curtiss's *Deuteronomy*, and *Levitical Priests*, one of many proofs which have of late been accumulating upon us that the level of American scholarship has risen vastly, and that it now begins to produce learned works which come worthily into the first ranks of the literature of their special subject. Such a work is unquestionably before us. It consists of eleven papers or dissertations on the criticism of the Pentateuch, in which every part of the great subject is passed under review, with reference especially to the theories of that leader in rationalistic criticism, who now holds the field by the apparent discomfiture of other and earlier system-makers, who were just as confident in their day—that is, Julius Wellhausen. Dr. Bissell observes at the outset that 'the thing of greatest influence in Pentateuch criticism, as now generally conceived, is but loosely connected with the Pentateuch—it is the point of view of the investigator. *The philosophy, even more than the science, is responsible for conclusions reached.*' [Italics ours.] In other words, most of the problems proposed are hopelessly intricate, obscure, and indeterminate; the internal evidence of the several books of the Pentateuch (the *external*, viz. the traditional witness of the Church, Jewish or Christian, is all hopelessly against the innovating critic) is scanty in amount and difficult to value. In this perplexity and suspense of judgment, the personal prepossessions of the critics come in, and each is found to rule all doubtful points in favour of his own theory. It would be difficult otherwise to account for the remarkable divergence and, indeed, contradictoriness in conclusions which an historical review of Old Testament criticism discloses. This is well exhibited by Dr. Bissell in No. II. of the papers before us (which, by the way, is new to us, not having been, like most of the others, published at intervals in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*). A very clear and logical examination of Wellhausen's leading principles follows. He and the school of critics he represents formulate the several documents which make up the Hexateuch, thus:

$$JE + D + HG + PC(Q) + R,$$

where J stands for a Jehovist document beginning at Gen. ii. 4², and E for an Elohist, beginning at Gen. xx.; D for the legislative portions VOL. XXII.—NO. XLIV. K K

of Deuteronomy, originating in the eighteenth year of King Josiah (B.C. 621); PC for Priests' Code—that is, the greater part of Leviticus and Numbers; R indicates a supposed person called the Redactor, who edited and combined JE and D with PC. And Wellhausen endeavours to show that there is actually a development in the laws in the direction indicated, *i.e.* from JE towards PC. We can hardly rank too highly Dr. Bissell's acute and laborious comparison of these theses with the facts, under the five chief particulars of (1) the central or single place of worship; (2) the sacrifices; (3) the feasts; (4) the priests and Levites; (5) the provision made for the support of priests and Levites. He is wonderfully successful in showing that the sacerdotal legislation reaches back indubitably to Mosaic times; and that at once by historical occurrences of that early period which presuppose these laws, and by coincidences which are the very refinement of forgery if they be not what they certainly seem to be, undesigned and recondite. Then, in subsequent sections, two branches of the argument not so familiarly known are brought forward into the foreground, viz. (1) citations from the earlier (præ-exilic) prophets, which presuppose the existence of the Mosaic legislation long before their time; and (2) similar citations from the Psalms authentically ascribed to David or his near contemporaries. This very important branch of the argument, however, appears to be only treated in outline, and would, we think, bear working over again, when other references to the Law would not fail to appear.

It is obvious that an analysis of this minute kind requires the closest attention, and a considerable degree of labour on the part of both writer and reader. But labour so bestowed will be rewarded by a mental grasp of the essential elements of all the questions which go to determine the date of the Mosaic legislation, such as is, we fear, but too seldom attained. And we know no manual comparable to this of Dr. Bissell to assist the intelligent and competent student in his task.

Immortality. A Clerical Symposium on what are the Foundations of the Belief in the Immortality of Man. (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1885.)

It is a pity not to call things by their names, or by correct ones. Far from being a (say) shorthand writer's report of the proceedings at a convivial party, a *συμπόσιον* or *convivium*, the present volume is, in fact, a collection of Essays on the gravest of subjects, the prospect of continued existence for man after death. As such it commands our attention, whatever its outward form. The discussion (if we are to call it so) was opened by Prebendary Row in a paper which, notwithstanding its ability, we cannot but think unfortunate. He *minimises* the doctrine throughout. He finds the arguments of the ancient philosophers in support of it 'inconclusive,' and even 'worthless;' such references as are found in the Old Testament Scriptures to it he regards as 'the result of inferences of a more or less doubtful character.' Again, he decides that the testimony of reason is 'of a more or less halting character;' and finally, in resting the doctrine as

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a mere *probability* upon the Christian revelation, he uses what is at the most a dubious form of speech, 'the assurance the Christian revelation professes to afford' (p. 25). It would seem almost incredible, but, as far as we can discover after careful search, it is a fact, that he makes no mention whatever, beyond the citation of a single text of Scripture, of the resurrection of Jesus Christ!

Such a mode of argument is surely most disastrous; and even on the lower ground of fitness and appropriateness, as unsuited to its place as an opening of the discussion, as could well be imagined. Its weak points are on every page; and if each successive writer has a fling at him, no one can be surprised. The understatement he has made as to the Old Testament Scriptures have been well supplied by Rabbi Hermann Adler; while with regard to his strictures upon Butler's well-known argument in the *Analogy* (which he thinks can exert only an 'inconsiderable' moral power on the masses'), we must remark that, however Bishop Butler might in his caution and humility speak of its being a merely probable argument, yet the probability in question is among the strongest known to human beings, and far superior to those upon which we, *e.g.*, insure our houses for twelve months in advance, or even order next month's or next week's supplies of provisions to-day. If Prebendary Row had contented himself with simply stating the Church's traditional doctrine on the future life, no opponent could have blamed him; but to be critical, and discriminative, and captious upon the subject which of all others rests upon a kind of evidence which, though strongly cogent and convincing, altogether defies analysis, and can scarcely be presented in any logical form, was hardly in place; and by so doing he exposes himself to be told, and with too much ground, by one of his Non-conformist opponents, that he is 'virtually giving up the Old Testament, both as a revelation from God, and as a foundation of belief in immortality,' and that he 'endeavours to reduce non-Christian belief in immortality to the faintest possible haze of hope,' while denying that it is either an intuition (which it assuredly *is*, in our opinion), or an instinct. The later essays are most of them in some way real contributions to the literature of the subject (we must except that on 'Conditional Immortality,' which we cannot say convinces us in the least). Rabbi Adler directs attention to the *Phädon* of Moses Mendelssohn, the argument of which deserves thoughtful consideration. Canon Knox Little's beautiful and powerful *Sermon* is full of truths persuasively stated.

Two sayings in Mr. Page Hopps' Essay appear to us very striking, and with the quotation of these we take our leave of the book:—

'A great thought is itself a great argument, in some cases' (p. 79).

'We are manifestly living in a universe of boundless possibilities, and it may reasonably be inferred that not the view of life which dwarfs and impoverishes, but the view which expands and enriches, is always most likely to be true' (p. 77).

Pastoral Comforts; or, Scripture Texts, with Prayers thereon, illustrating the Office for the Visitation of the Sick. For the Use of the Clergy, District Visitors, and Invalids. By the Rev. J. D. KNOWLES, M.A., Vicar of Glossop and Rural Dean. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1885.)

THERE is nothing at all novel in the *method* of this little book, since it is substantially that employed probably by most of those who have cure of souls. What is valuable in the book is the skill, taste, and piety, with which familiar materials and a familiar method have been worked up to produce a series of outlines at once soothing, comforting, and *edifying* in the proper sense of the word—i.e. tending to increase the knowledge of our holy Faith in the mind of the sick. It seems to us a book that the clergy would find of great use in their ministrations, and it will be very precious to the sick who are able to read to themselves.

Our Parish Church: Twenty Addresses to Children on Great Truths of the Christian Faith. By the Rev. S. BARING GOULD, M.A. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1885.)

OUR old parish churches are masses of symbolic teaching, and it would seem very easy and obvious to bring out the meaning of each symbol. It does not, however, prove so in practice, or for every preacher, and hence the value of such a volume as Mr. S. Baring Gould has here given to the Church. It is at once a *répertoire* of illustrations and also a specimen of the *manner in which* symbolic teaching may be utilized. He takes the church part by part—porch, font, nave, aisles, pillars, chancel and altar, pulpit, prayer desk, &c. &c.—and connects each with a definite lesson, each and all expounded with a facility and grace that is all his own.

Thirty Thousand Thoughts. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., Rev. JOSEPH P. EXELL, M.A., Rev. CHARLES NEIL, M.A. XII. 'Jehovistic Names and Titles of God;' XIII. 'The Attributes of God;' XIV. 'Sins;' XV. 'Christian Dogmatics.' (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1885.)

WE have noticed the successive volumes of this bulky work as they appeared, and have repeatedly felt doubts whether the scale is not too large and the method of arrangement too technical and elaborate to be easy. The larger the heap of extracts the more difficult must it be to find any particular one; and therefore we cannot but regret that an *independent* title was not given to each paragraph (this is too frequently omitted), and then the simple expedient adopted of an *alphabetical index* for each volume, referring to these titles. As to the *character* of the extracts, many are good and valuable; many also are commonplace. The compilers would appear to be far better versed in the works of the Puritan and Non-conformist divines than in those of either the Reformation, the Caroline school, or the High Church writers of the present day. And this, even without their intending it, impresses a character upon the work. We will give an example. In the division (C) headed

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'Restoration of the Normal Relations between God and Man' we come to the point where in a scheme of Church doctrine the sacraments ought surely to take their place. We cannot, however, find the word 'sacrament' even once named.

It would not of course be reasonable in a work of this kind to expect that the Church's doctrines should be the only ones stated. But certainly they should not be conspicuous by their absence; and there can be no question that the scheme of redemption, with the sacraments omitted, is not the Gospel which the Church has received. This serious *hiatus* excepted, the volume is in many ways a useful one to all engaged in literary pursuits.

A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. By THOMAS CHARLES EDWARDS, M.A., of Lincoln College, Oxford, Principal of the University College of Wales, Aberystwith. Second edition. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1885.)

WE do not usually notice second editions of books when they are identical with the first; but it would seem that this is practically a *first* edition, since it has been called for so soon after the first. We do not wonder at the degree of popularity which the *Commentary* has attained, for it has many excellent qualities. Learned, thoughtful, and moderate, the writer generally carries the reader with him in his views, while at the same time his comments are reasonably brief and concise. He does not satisfy himself with delivering a mere *aperçu* of the opinions of other writers, as is too frequently the habit of commentators, but has something to say of his own, and says it clearly and well. We regret to find him so much in admiration of Calvin's hard and unimaginative dogmatism, however acute and intellectually strong he may think it. The writings of S. Paul, above those of most men, are of a class with which the mere unimaginative logician, or dull grammarian, is inadequate to cope. Mr. Edwards seems indeed to have partly recognized this peculiar quality in the Apostle. He says well and truly on p. xx. of his Introduction—

'A thoughtful reader of his Epistles will have no difficulty to discover (*qy.* in discovering) the bent of his mind, even when it acts most freely. He is ever seeking the one in the many; and when he has found it, the unifying principle assumes in his eyes an objectiveness of character and becomes a real cosmical factor. His search for unity was partly the half-unconscious yearning of a profound intellect, that remained to the end more or less a stranger to the conflict of the later Greek schools; partly it embodied the spirit of the age, which felt the reaction against scepticism, and faced the ever-recurring question of dualism from the side of religion.'

Perhaps one might say, and that more simply, that the Apostle was ever striving to generalize his conceptions. But he who generalizes is (in a degree) a poet; it is the *poetic faculty*, that is, the imagination, which transcends the slow processes of logic and leaps from height to height of thought. This faculty was marvellously predominant in S. Paul; and it is because of this mental habit that the commentator, who painfully toils merely at the bare wording of

his utterances, will be found to interpret them truly perhaps as far as he goes, but to follow them only *a little way*. We do not mean to assert that Mr. Edwards is himself one of this class of commentators ; quite the contrary. His comments are always intelligent and thoughtful, though we are far from agreeing with him in every explanation he gives, as in v. 14 or viii. 7, where he lays down broadly that 'an "erring conscience" is a phrase without meaning.' But surely it has a real and very important meaning, which is this : an erring conscience is one which is not wholly to be trusted, because it in some degree calls evil good and good evil.

The *Commentary*, however, taken as a whole, is decidedly worth careful study ; and will be, we take it, an authority on the interpretation of this Epistle.

A Third and more urgent 'Remonstrance' against the Recital of the Athanasian Creed. (London : Ridgway, 1886.)

WE see no occasion for any lengthy notice of this production. If the writer's tone has become a little less vehement and acrimonious, it is not less dictatorial and egotistic. One main difference between his position and ours appears to consist in this : he professes to believe the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and not to deny any of the statements of the *Quicumque*, always excepting the so-called 'damnatory clauses ;' he says he has 'never attacked' any of its definitions ; but he contends that many of them are disputable, puzzling, abstruse, subtle, enigmatical, and so on, and that, as many persons do not admit them to be logically contained in the two chief propositions as to the Trinity and the Incarnation, those persons ought not to be condemned, as they are condemned, by the 'clauses.' We deny that they are so condemned. We say, with Dr. Mozley, that whoever really believes the two chief propositions does implicitly hold those which they 'contain,' and that if he thinks he does not, it is because he misapprehends their meaning. Our author, indeed, asserts that the 'eternity of the Divine Sonship cannot be proved ;' perhaps he holds it as a pious opinion ; perhaps he suspends his judgment about it ; but if he believes the Son to be truly God, he must, as a real Theist, ascribe to the Son the attributes of Deity, and eternity among them. Nor can he mean by 'the everlasting Son,' in the *Te Deum*, anything but 'the eternal Son.' But we are sorry to see that in an imaginary parallelism between the *Quicumque* and a series of statements as to the law of the land (p. 39) he places belief in the Incarnation in a very different category from belief in the Trinity, illustrating the one from the law against murder, the other from the law against trespass ; and while 'granting that the parallelism is not perfect,' he proceeds to select the illustration in the 37th verse as a sample of the teaching of the Creed on the Incarnation, which is hardly fair. In another passage (p. 44) he gravely misunderstands us. We never placed doubts as to the existence of God on the same level with doubts as to the corollaries of the *Quicumque*. We argued that the common-sense moral principle, 'Allowance must be made for misapprehension, prejudice, ignorance,' &c., applied to all the

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various portions of truth, if to any. He ought not to need reminding that the case of a Church which has never recited the *Quicumque* cannot be identified with that of a Church which abandons the recitation of it; or that, in matter of fact and experience, familiarity with its language (*e.g.* in verses 6, 15, 33) is a great help to Church people in apprehending the true faith; or that, whenever and by whomsoever compiled, its statements are for the most part extracts from patristic theology; or that the 'definitions' of the Fathers were practically necessitated by heresy, instead of being gratuitously devised. Of course we never denied that theologians had often gone too far in attempts to explain. But as to the imputation of unintentional Sabellianism to Cardinal Newman, we must be pardoned for thinking our author much too confident. A little more modesty would befit such an amateur theologian. He says that Bishop Kaye 'could not misunderstand' Dr. Newman. The Bishop himself, however, objects to one of Newman's statements as 'utterly incomprehensible,' and to another as 'perplexing and bewildering' (*Council of Nicaea*, pp. 194, 227). One sentence to which Bishop Kaye reasonably objected, as identifying Person with relation, has been omitted in the Cardinal's second edition (*Treat. of S. Ath.* vol. ii. p. 322). But in justice to the first edition, it should be observed that 'Person' is in the context explained by 'correlative,' and that the incongruity, not only in terms, but in ideas, therein acknowledged, was expressly described (on *Ath. Orat.* iii. 28) as a 'partial or indirect antagonism,' caused by the imperfection of our faculties; that in another passage it was denied that the Second Person was a relation (on *Orat.* ii. 33); and that the 'numerical' oneness was explained by the Coinherence (on iii. 3), which excludes alike Tritheism and Sabellianism. As for the anti-Arian anathemas attached to the original Nicene Creed, they were withdrawn from the 'Constantinopolitan' recension which was made when other heresies than Arianism had come to the front, and the first canon of Constantinople anathematizes seven heresies by name. The Remonstrant says: 'I did not say that the Nicene anathema was withdrawn by the Council of Chalcedon, but by "the latter of the four great Councils, namely, the Councils subsequent to that of Nicaea."' Well, by which? S. Cyril certainly read the Creed with its anathemas (see his Third Epistle to Nestorius); and we may infer that they were read with it in the Council of Ephesus. They were twice read at Chalcedon: in the second version, as part of the original Creed; in the fifth, still more solemnly, as part of a recension of the Creed. They are still recited, in an altered form, in the Armenian Liturgy, and they appear in a Latin version of the original Creed in Alcuin's *Officia per Ferias*. Of course, we do not regret their disuse. As to another well-worn fallacy, both the Third and Fourth Councils forbade the compilation of any other creed as a test for converts; but we do *not* so use the *Quicumque*.

Oxford House Papers, Nos. I.-VIII. (London: Rivingtons, 1886.)
THE residents at the 'Oxford House' in Bethnal Green have found their work impeded, by an agnostic and secularist propaganda,

'which primes even lads and young men with objections to Christianity.' In order to meet this, a series of papers has been prepared, the first eight of which are now before us; they are in almost all cases contributed by well-known Oxford residents; and it is at once appropriate and characteristic that the Warden of Keble College, in spite of the wearing effects of a long and distressing bodily infirmity, should in this, as in so many other efforts on behalf of religion and of the Church, have been asked, and consented, to lead the way. His treatment of the thesis, that 'the difficulties about Christianity are no reason for disbelieving it,' illustrates the fact, sometimes forgotten, that although Bishop Butler did not forecast the present conditions of the conflict with unbelief, there are elements of his teaching which can never become obsolete, but belong to the Apologetic of all time. The *Spectator*, in a remarkable article on this paper, has worked out Mr. Talbot's idea to the conclusion that a 'religion without difficulties, instead of being infinitely above us, would be absolutely beneath us.' As Principal Caird has expressed it, 'A God completely understood would be no God at all.' In the second paper Dr. Paget has aimed at 'bringing within brief compass and general access the help' derivable from 'Dr. Pusey's book, entitled, *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?*' One of the points on which the Professor of Pastoral Theology insists with a truly pastoral earnestness is, that the misery of the lost will be essentially self-inflicted. 'It is the lost soul that is the true author of its ruin. . . . Hatred' of goodness, of purity, of all that belongs to God, 'can hate even love itself, and to hate love is already hell; and then what can love do? . . . You might as well charge light with making the blackness of the coal as blame God for the hatred and malevolence and self-contempt which are the anguish of hell.' Dr. Paget acknowledges his obligation on this subject to Cardinal Newman, referring to one of his sermons, and to 'a wonderful passage in his *Callista*.' We may add a reference to his article in the *Contemporary Review* for October 1885. Perhaps it would be well to emphasize, more distinctly than ever, the tremendous moral fact which is implicitly or explicitly denied by Universalists—that the free will of the creature *can* persevere in rebellious obduracy as long as existence lasts, and that as God will not force it into obedience, He must necessarily leave it to itself—which is hell. Dr. Pusey once said to the present writer, 'Hell is not the infliction of punishment for a *past* state of sin. If, *per impossibile*, Satan could be converted, I suppose he would get out of hell: there could be no more terrible hell for him than a heaven full of love which he could not enjoy or return: he would throw himself out of heaven.' In connection with this paper we may say that in No. V. Mr. Coles, of Pusey House, defines 'salvation' as consisting in 'a right relation to Jesus Christ.' Addressing his readers as 'a priest of the Church of England,' he asks them to observe *how* the religion of Jesus Christ professes 'to enable man to attain to that standard of right which his conscience sets before him:' how it appeals to him by the 'lifting power' of love. 'In order to be right with our Lord,—which is 'to be right with God'—'He asks that we will not refuse

His love. If we receive His love, we must endeavour to return it ; and the beginning of our love for Him is faith : so faith in Him is our salvation.' The tract ends with words which may well represent the attractive power of the Incarnation. 'Yield thyself, my soul, to goodness : yield thyself to God. Seek, friendless man, the best of friends : seek Jesus.' In No. VIII. Mr. Strong, of Christ Church—one of those younger graduates who brighten for us the prospects of Oxford religion—answers the question, 'Can man know God?' by pointing out that Agnosticism has exaggerated and perverted the truth that material nature cannot of itself lead us to God, and has ignored those spiritual elements of our nature by which the physical order of things is to be illuminated, and thus enabled to witness for Him. This is the view taken by the late Professor Mozley in a paper on 'Physical Science and Theology,' included in the volume of his *Lectures*. 'If,' says Dr. Mozley, 'the spiritual is extracted from nature, before we are allowed to argue from nature, the natural argument for a God may well become weak,' may 'prove only a mechanical deity,' for it 'omits the human soul. . . . He who looks always to the mechanics of nature will never see a God there : he looks far off, and does not see what is close to him—the evidence of a God which is within him.' In a clear and useful paper (No. IV.) on the Inspiration of the Bible, Mr. Lock admits that 'Revelation . . . was not confined to the Jews,' that 'God revealed Himself by conscience' and 'by reason,' but yet 'claims for the Bible an inspiration so different in degree from the inspiration of the most religious heathens or' even 'of later Christian writers, as virtually to be a difference in kind.' He admits, again, that the Biblical Revelation was progressive, and suggests some criteria for distinguishing those parts which are 'of permanent and absolute value,' one of these tests being 'the end of the revelation, the teaching of Jesus Christ : ' e.g. 'the Mosaic legislation sanctioned divorce,' which was against 'the original ideal of marriage as contained in the Book of Genesis . . . but Jesus Christ accepted the first ideal,' &c. Mr. Lock dwells on the fact that before He came the Jewish nation was 'an inspired nation,' although 'certain individuals, the Prophets,' were inspired in fuller measure, and that, after He came, the Catholic Church became an 'inspired body . . . embodying through the power of the Sacraments the life which had been in Christ Jesus : ' it existed, as such, before any part of the New Testament was written, but 'as before on the Prophets, so now on 'the Apostolical writers,' there fell the Spirit's power . . . and in time the instinct of the Church chose out those writings which were of permanent value,' and thus 'formed the Canon.' We can but very briefly refer to those papers which dwell on history or politics. Mr. Hassall, of Christ Church, meets the allegation that the Church has been the enemy of national liberty, by narrating the part played by Archbishop Langton and the clergy in the matter of 'Magna Carta,' and connecting it with the previous good work, as against aristocratic lawlessness or royal injustice, of 'Lanfranc, Roger of Salisbury, Hubert Walter, Anselm, Becket, and Hugh of Lincoln.' Mr. Gent, of Keble College, takes up the popular watchword 'Fra-

ternity,' and contends that, in its true sense, this idea has been 'mainly preserved' by the religion of the Incarnation. He shows that while Christianity upholds the institution of property, it enforces the responsibilities which belong to it as to 'a trust : ' and that while it opposes revolution (which, as he says in an earlier page, is injurious to the true interests of working men), it seeks 'to spread through all parts of the existing order of society the spirit by which every man will think as naturally of his neighbour's wants as of his own.'

The paper (No. III.) by Mr. Spencer Holland, on 'The National Church of a Democratic State,' is, to our mind, the least satisfactory of the series. He considers that such a state, being itself disunited on matters of belief, and incompetent to decide on matters of faith and worship, may yet 'acknowledge their moralising influence, and delegate to an already existing Church the duty of carrying out a system of public worship,' and thereby of 'permeating the national conscience with the sense of righteousness, temperance, purity.' But an opponent will ask him to concede the inference that the democracy may, if it so pleases, call on the community which it thus 'patronizes' to lay aside the 'dogmas' to which, by hypothesis, it can assign so little value. The Church will refuse : and then comes 'disestablishment.'

Religion without God and God without Religion. I. Positivism and Mr. Frederic Harrison. II. Agnosticism and Mr. Herbert Spencer. By WILLIAM ARTHUR. (London and Derby : Bemrose and Sons, 1885.)

A CONTROVERSY carried on during the year 1884 in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century* between Mr. Herbert Spencer and others, has furnished Mr. William Arthur with an occasion for entering upon a detailed examination of the doctrines of 'Positivism' and 'Agnosticism,' a third essay on 'Deism and Sir Fitzjames Stephen' being announced as in preparation.

We venture to think that Positivism has been too much honoured by the attention which has been paid to it during the present generation. It is true that it has received the adhesion of some few intelligent and cultured persons ; but it seems to us to need no other refutation than a clear exhibition of its real doctrines and their obvious implications. Mr. Arthur points out that, as a philosophy, Positivism essentially consists in a *restriction* of thought and inquiry. Difficulties are not solved but shelved, all inconvenient questions being simply met with 'Don't ask.' Of the 'Positive Polity' put forth by Comte it is enough to say that we are bidden to look forward in the near future to the establishment in the Western World, in place of the existing states, of some sixty small republics, ruled by a hierarchy of Positivist clergy under a despotic High Priest of Humanity, whose 'eternal see' is to be Paris.

As regards Religion, Positivism offers for our worship—or, according to Mr. Harrison, our affection and reverence—Humanity, defined as 'the sum total of human beings, past, present, and to come.'

Comte explained, indeed, that when he said 'all' he meant only some. None but useful human beings were to be reckoned, and to make up for the others it was suggested that useful animals might be included. When, however, we remember that this 'Great Being' embraces the dead and the unborn, as well as the living, and indeed 'is composed for the greater part of the dead,' and when we remember also that the Positivist recognizes no existence after death except in the memory of survivors, we can see pretty well what sort of a deity it is to which we are invited to do homage. It is, as Mr. Arthur says, 'a mere logician's formula' (p. 101). 'Subjective immortality' has indeed a fine sound, and to 'join the choir invisible' may seem a noble aspiration, but the illusion is dispelled when I recognize in these phrases an attempt, as Mr. Arthur puts it, 'to pass off upon me, as an equivalent for my expectation of fulness of joy at God's right hand for evermore, the prospect that some other man's wife may make pictures of me in her imagination when I am dead, and call it for her part private worship; while to me it is immortality' (p. 115).

Perhaps it may have been worth while to discuss in detail the absurdities of this so-called Religion, if only to show what it is to which even clever men may come in the attempt to find a substitute for Christianity.

Agnosticism is a far more plausible system, and its influence at the present day is undoubtedly very great and widespread. Probably many persons are misled by the name to think of 'Agnosticism' as a modest condition of mind, which, confessing its ignorance, leaves great questions open. It does not formally and explicitly deny God. But the denial is nevertheless really complete. An unknowable Entity, to which is refused every attribute of which we can intelligibly speak, is not what is meant by God.

Mr. Arthur opposes to Mr. Spencer's theory of the Unknowable the doctrine that human knowledge, though partial, is real. He reminds us that it is not only the 'Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed' which on Mr. Spencer's principles is pronounced to be unknowable. The same is asserted of such familiar elements and objects of experience as time and space, matter and motion, mind and self, and even the solar system and the earth on which we live. It is evident, therefore, that a great deal depends upon what we mean by 'Knowledge.' It is easy to construct 'school puzzles,' like Mr. Spencer's, about the infinity of space or the absolute character of motion. It is true, no doubt, that there is much on all hands that we do not know, and that all experience runs up into mysteries. But to say that we do not in any sense 'know' space, or motion, or the earth, is to play with words.

Now if, in asserting that the Infinite Power which is the source of all phenomena is 'unknowable,' Mr. Spencer uses the term in the same sense in which it may be applied to one's self, or to the solar system, we may surely, as Mr. Arthur says, breathe freely. No doubt we cannot frame an *adequate* mental representation of this Infinite Power. No doubt we cannot fully comprehend God. No doubt He is unique, and there is none with whom we can compare Him in the

fulness of His attributes. But to say this is not to say that we cannot have sufficient knowledge of Him for our needs, or that we cannot know Him to be a Personal Spiritual Being, who wills, and knows, and loves. Of course we can, if we choose, construct a definition of 'the Absolute' to which no idea corresponds, and then say that God must conform to such a definition, and so cannot be known; but this is to affirm knowledge of an extremely transcendental kind in the very act of denying it.

And indeed, Mr. Arthur is right in remarking that the affirmations of Agnosticism about the Ultimate Reality from which all things proceed are so numerous and definite, that taken by themselves they would seem to 'compel a consequential thinker to say, I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth' (p. 506). The real reason why Mr. Spencer does not proceed to this conclusion lies in the fact that his philosophy is fundamentally materialistic. Mr. Arthur observes that 'with him personality implies a material body,' and intelligence is somehow accounted for as an aggregate of 'nervous shocks' (p. 508). And hence, while acknowledging that the unknowable Power must be somewhat higher and not lower than Personality and Intelligence as we experience them, he is yet unable to conceive of it as spiritual.

Mr. Arthur examines several of Mr. Spencer's characteristic doctrines with great shrewdness and some humour. The reader will not find in his essay any serious attempt to construct a coherent system of philosophy in place of that which he assails; nor, indeed, can we consider that he has in every instance grasped the real difficulties of the problems with which he deals. But he brings out into strong relief many of the fallacies and incoherences which appear in Mr. Spencer's system when tested by the thoughtful common sense of a clear and vigorous mind. The late Professor Green once remarked, in connexion with Mr. Spencer's doctrines, that 'a plain man, whom it strikes as bad sense to have his umbrella called "a cluster of vivid states of consciousness," may be the more ready on that account to believe it good psychology.' It is very useful that we should sometimes be reminded that philosophy is only common experience rationalized, and that what is bad sense can neither be good psychology nor good metaphysics.

An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England.

By ROBERT LOUIS CLOQUET. (London: Nisbet and Co., 1885.)

THIS book purports to be 'a Protestant Exposition of our Protestant Articles.' It is, in reality, an exposition of the views of the Rev. Robert Louis Cloquet, or, perhaps it would be more exact to say, of those writers with whom Mr. Cloquet finds himself in substantial agreement, the volume being little more than a cento of extracts from various sources, and the original matter consisting for the most part of violent diatribes against Romanism and Ritualism.

The author's method of 'exposition' will be best illustrated by an example. The first section under Article XI. ('Of the Justification of Man') is headed 'History.' Mr. Cloquet puts forward 'that

Articulus Stantis aut Cadentis Ecclesie—Justification is by Faith only,' without any apparent consciousness that the terms of this formula require any definition or explanation. The language of S. James is just referred to in the remark that 'the broad cast of his letter is against the Judaizing of Christianity—the transposal of faith from its *living* place in the Christian system to that which *dead* ceremonial observance occupied in the Jewish' (p. 205). Denunciations of Bishop Forbes and others occupy (with the above) the first page and a half. Mr. Cloquet passes to the testimony of the Apostolic Fathers, and quotes three passages from Clement, 'Barnabas,' and Ignatius, in neither of which either Justification or Faith is mentioned. He goes on to deplore that 'the testimony of too many of those who succeeded the Apostolic Fathers—the stumbling-block of free will having been introduced by Justin—is discordant and self-contradictory;' and particularly bewails a 'lesion of truth' on the part of Chrysostom. But he thinks that 'whenever or wherever the virus of philosophy was inert, the testimony of the Fathers is explicit and unwavering.' And he proceeds to quote some brief expressions in which the doctrine of S. Paul is affirmed. Amongst the presumably unphilosophical Fathers cited we find Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Augustine. On the next page, however, we are told that 'Platonism enabled Clement of Alexandria to give faith new epithets, calling it *ἐκούσιος πίστις* [*sic*], free-will faith, and *τεχνη φυσική* [*sic*] a natural art'! A brief denunciation of the schoolmen follows. And 'now,' proceeds Mr. Cloquet, 'let us enter with Luther upon this scene, and we shall not be surprised, taking into account his idiosyncrasy and lion-heart, at the home-thrusts which he dealt at "the divinity of the kingdom of Antichrist." In connexion with Luther's 'occasional vehement, or perhaps inaccurate utterances,' the author remarks: 'The godless and blasphemous Nomos of pre-Reformation times was enough to betray even the mildest and most cautious Evangelical into seeming Antimonial [*sic*] abandon.' Mr. Cloquet thinks that the formula, 'Justification is by Faith Only,' so fully expresses Luther's views that it is hardly necessary to explain them at length; but, 'as it is a duty, no less than a pleasure, to "walk about Zion and go round about her, telling the towers thereof,"' he proceeds to give an extract from the Reformer's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. Up to this point the 'Exposition' of the Article, quotations and all, has filled little more than five and a half pages. The extract from Luther takes up about twelve. After a few remarks on the Augsburg Confession and Melancthon the writer gives two pages of extracts from the Tridentine decrees, and observing that he will not 'waste the time of the reader in animadverting on all the contradictions and muddle of thought and language' they exhibit, proceeds to entertain him more profitably with nearly two pages more of scurrilous vituperation of the members of the Council from the pen of 'honest Calvin.' Four pages are almost immediately quoted from Calvin's *Institutes*, and eight pages follow, filled chiefly with extracts from Reformation documents, some, however, being from such writers as Hooker and Bull, and one from Bishop Harold Browne, who, we are told, 'un-

happily vacillates.' We are then treated to some ten pages of denunciations of the doctrine of the Tractarians, extracted from a book of the late Dean of Exeter (whom the author calls 'Mr. Boyd'); after which we reach a section headed 'Scriptural Proof.' Mr. Cloquet remarks that the reader who has followed him (or rather, we presume, the writers he has quoted) so far, 'will be at no loss for abundant Scriptures in proof of Justification by Faith Alone. Nevertheless'—the reader supposes he is going to say that he will quote and expound these Scriptures. Not at all. Mr. Cloquet has an easy way of saving himself all trouble on this head. He turns for 'a ready and explicit statement of the doctrine as founded on God's Word' to the *Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism Explained* by the Scottish Presbyterian Divines, Erskine and Fisher. About six pages and a half are borrowed from this document, and Mr. Cloquet passes without further remark to the next Article.

This book of Messrs. Erskine and Fisher is Mr. Cloquet's standard authority. He describes it as 'a complete Body of Divinity, which has been seldom equalled and never, perhaps, excelled' (p. 251). To set before his readers the true nature of the Sacraments he feels that he cannot do better than quote 'that incomparable system of divinity' (p. 510), and gives five pages of extracts accordingly. Nine pages are taken from the same work by way of supplying the 'Scriptural proof' of the doctrine of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, and five or six pages are quoted with the same object on the subject of Predestination. The value of the exegesis thus furnished may be gathered from the following specimens:—

'Was there any difference between the baptism of John and the baptism dispensed by the Apostles after Christ's Ascension?'

'There was no essential difference betwixt them. . . .

'Did not Paul re-baptize some disciples at Ephesus who had been before baptized by John? Acts xix. 4, 5.

'No, he only declares that they who had heard John preach the doctrine of repentance and faith in Christ, were by John baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, and so needed not to be re-baptized by any other' (p. 573).

Messrs. Erskine and Fisher's theology may be further illustrated by the answer they give to the question, 'Is it proper to say that the Father is the *fountain of the Deity*?' 'The expression,' they say, 'is dangerous, and now used by adversaries in an unsound sense, to exclude self-existence and independency from the Son and Holy Ghost, and therefore to be avoided.'¹ This opinion is adopted by Mr. Cloquet (p. 8, *u.*), and in discussing the 'Filioque' he speaks of the doctrine of the subordination of the Son as an 'incubus.'

Mr. Cloquet wonders how men who hold a view of Justification different from his own can 'remain within the pale of the Church of England,' and exclaims, 'Let us be honest Englishmen first, and avowed, not masked Romanists after, if you please' (p. 251). But it does not seem to have occurred to him that there is anything disloyal

¹ 'Of the Holy Trinity,' Qu. 29.

or anything grotesque in seeking for the doctrine of the Church of England in a Presbyterian document.

Mr. Cloquet, however, makes no secret of the fact that he thinks 'a Presiding Pastor with his co-Presbyters and Deacons—nominated or acquiesced in by the Brethren—is the form of Church government found in the New Testament—the one best adapted to restrain pride and lording it over God's heritage—and which it might have been well had the universal Church cordially and more explicitly adopted wherever attainable' (p. 408). He concedes that 'our modern Episcopacy' does not exclude from the visible Church, but is careful to extend the same concession to Presbyterianism, Wesleyanism, and Congregationalism. Mr. Cloquet deplores schism, though he excuses it in the past by the consideration that 'it was a hard struggle for human nature to be reconciled to gross immorality and vicar-of-brayism' (*sic*) (p. 444). But he avows that one main object of his 'Exposition' is 'to plead for the union—ecclesiastical if you please and can, but far above all that is merely denominational, the National Union of those who love the Lord' (p. 445). From this category it would appear that he excludes altogether the Quakers and the Romanists (p. 408). The Pope, indeed, according to him, is Antichrist (pp. 282, 411). He objects to the phrase 'the Church of Rome,' regarding the body in question as the Synagogue of Satan (pp. 382, 481).

Mr. Cloquet remarks (p. 347) that 'calmness of tone is desirable and unseemly expression is to be avoided.' The following may serve as a specimen of Mr. Cloquet's calmness and seamliness of expression, and, we may add, of the relevance of his 'Exposition.' It occurs in connexion with Article XXIV.

'What poor, enslaved, trodden-down Ireland wants is to develop her fisheries and harbours for the untold treasures of the sea and her coasts, to help her to reclaim her wastes and effete bog lands, to introduce some of our manufactures, or aid her in expanding her own. In a word, *Work and a Fair Wage*; and the putrid, pestilential Missal of Gregory replaced by the pure, living Word of God' (p. 433).

Of course the author regards the 'Puseyites' as very little, if any, better than the members of the 'Confederation of Antichrist.' 'Between Rome and the modern Ritualists,' he says, 'there is little or no appreciable difference in the doctrine, &c., of the Sacraments, further than what we might expect between an open and implacable enemy to the truth, and a somewhat timid and an unmanly traitor within the camp' (p. 526). It appears, indeed, that Mr. Cloquet is unable to see any real difference between the doctrine of a material presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Blessed Sacrament and that of an objective spiritual presence.

'There is,' he says, 'this one shade of distinction: Rome is honest and bold, and is not ashamed to declare the Carnal Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ; Ritualists "mince the sin, and mollify damnation with a phrase"—they would bewilder the Church, if in fact they do not indeed bewilder themselves, between "a glorified presence," "a spiritual

presence," "the natural Body and Blood," and last but not least, "a presence supralocal in the Holy Sacrament," whatever that may mean' (pp. 526, 527).

For the rest it may perhaps suffice to say that Mr. Cloquet holds that 'the Bible and nothing but the Bible is and should be the religion of Protestants' (p. 346). He repudiates the idea that the Canon of Scripture was fixed by the Church, holding that the doubts of Councils and Fathers as to the genuineness of certain books 'clearly stamps them as unfit to be judges of Holy Writ' (p. 104). The Canon, he seems to hold, was 'settled and completed by St. John, and finally sealed by the anathema of the closing verses of Revelation' (p. 105); from which we infer that Mr. Cloquet supposes the Apocalypse to be the latest in date of the Books of Holy Scripture. The use that he himself makes of the Bible may be judged from his interpretation of S. Matt. xix. 12. 'He that is able to receive it, let him receive it,' means, he says, 'simply, he that profanely thinks he can innocuously defy and overcome the law of nature, let him do so.'

In the preface Mr. Cloquet offers his book to 'the exact student.' It would be foolish to attach too much importance to little oversights of an author in correcting his proofs. But there is a point beyond which carelessness in this respect suggests something else than carelessness. The following are a few of the flowers of speech which we have culled from Mr. Cloquet's pages; they are reproduced *literatim* :—

'The only true (*ἀληθινόν*)' (p. 5); 'the sole Root (*ρίζα*)' (p. 59); 'δικαιοσύνη' (p. 69); 'bodily (. . . *σωματικῶς*)' (p. 125); 'ἄγιον' (five times) (pp. 162-4); 'ἁγίου,' 'ἁγία' (*ibid.*) ('ἄγιον four times, ἁγίου once), 'ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ, Priests unto God' (p. 407). 'Stoicism, or the Philosophy of the Grove . . . Platonism or the Philosophy of the Porch' (p. 335). "The word חַמִּיד never means 'holy,' *Perovne*' (p. 143). Jewish writers enumerate three different degrees of Excommunication . . . Niddui (נִידוּי) . . . Cherem (חֵרֶם) . . . Shammata (שְׁמָטָה)' (p. 499).

On the whole we fear that exact students will hardly be attracted in great numbers to the study of Mr. Cloquet's volume.

Daily Life. (London : J. Whitaker, 1886.)

THIS book marks a new departure, and seeks to adapt to subjects for daily meditation a system of instruction which has been applied with success by some preachers in their sermons. It employs anecdotes and illustrations in lieu of direct teaching. Instead of taking events in our Lord's life, or portions of Scripture narrative, and dressing them up in an attractive form as subjects for meditation, the writer has collected a number of anecdotes and accounts of unusual events which he has encountered in his parochial ministrations, and by assigning a short chapter to each, with a few instructive remarks, he hopes to persuade some, who would turn with disgust from an ordinary pious book of instruction or meditation, to read one of these little portions daily. We do not doubt that there are people who will be attracted by the paths of the stories which he has collected and the interesting form into which he has thrown them, and will profit by

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them ; and having read them will venture upon the more directly instructive sections with which the little volume is interspersed. We admire the author's object and his manner of working it out, and we shall be surprised if some, who would never have been induced to reflect or to meditate by the books ordinarily prepared to assist in forming a habit of the kind, are not unconsciously led into profitably pondering over religious subjects under the guidance of this useful book. In the preface the writer tells us that experience must have already taught many of us that

'Vagueness ruins the religion of many and mars that of most. Those who watch their own souls, and the souls of others, know the danger of it. Many believe, or think they do ; but they have, and aim at, no clearness of faith. They cannot put in words what it is that they are sure of, and why they hold fast to it as God's truth. Many wish and try with more or less honesty of purpose to do right before God and man. But there is small care to learn the windings of the narrow way in which God calls them to walk, and small watchfulness to lose no time ; and to go steadily on step by step' (p. vii.).

To help those who are in this state, and who wish for help, is the object of this book, and to do it in a manner which will be attractive to them. We should fail to give our readers a fair estimate of the book if we were not to place before them a specimen of the manner in which the author executes his task. Thus he heads one section 'Kill the Pigs,' which he expands as follows :—

'A great many years ago I was called to visit a man who had been struck down by sudden sickness. He had only a few weeks to live ; he knew his state, and was not wanting in deep, serious feeling about it. He was glad to hear, and he spoke freely. But there was one great hindrance in his way, and in mine. This seemed to mix up with his thoughts, and come between him and every other interest. He had always been a lover of animals, and had taken special pride in showing the best pigs in the district. There were two pigs at the end of the garden, which he thought were the best he had ever fed. He seemed unable to get these pigs out of his mind for many minutes together. In the middle of the most serious conversation he would make some remark about them, and go off into long details about the way he had brought them to such perfection. At first I tried to stop him, but I found it was of no use. The pigs seemed to have the power of taking the place of all else that tried to find room in his thoughts. Then I tried another plan. When I came to see him, I went first to look at the pigs, and then I talked to him for five minutes or so about them, and tried to show interest in the various breeds of pigs and the different ways of feeding them. Then, having given the pigs time enough, I changed the subject sharply. This worked fairly well, but I could see that there was often a struggle in the man's mind to keep the pigs out of our conversation, and that he could not keep them out of his thoughts. So I made up my mind that the pigs must die. I asked the man's wife whether they were fit for killing. She told me that they were nearly so, but that it would be a loss to kill them for a few weeks. "Never mind," I said ; "while they live your husband cannot attend rightly to the care of his soul. You must have them killed and off his mind." She felt the truth of my words, and acted on them. I had no more trouble with my poor friend. His one great difficulty was

VOL. XXII.—NO. XLIV.

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removed, and for the rest of his life he was able to think and pray and look upwards without distraction' (p. 117).

Many of the sections are filled with stories to illustrate some spiritual truth in this way; others are more directly didactic; but all are written in a readable style, which we should hope will make them effective in accomplishing at all events some of the good aimed at by their writer.

Quæstiuncule Liturgicæ: What is the meaning of 'Incomprehensible' in the English Version of the Athanasian Creed? Two Letters by JOHN DOWDEN, D.D. (Edinburgh: Grant, 1886.)

IN this interesting paper, Canon Dowden argues that the English version of the *Quicumque* followed a Greek version, in which 'immensus' was rendered by ἀκατάληπτος. If the framers of the Prayer-Book of 1549 had meant to translate 'immensus,' they would have rendered it 'infinite,' as they did in the *Te Deum*—just as Bishop Pearson, we may observe, in the next century explained the 'immensitas Dei' as meaning His independence of limitations, and His substantial and intimate presence throughout His creation. Canon Dowden grants that 'incomprehensible,' in the sixteenth century, was used for 'not to be physically circumscribed;' but he gives quotations which prove that it was also used, as now, for 'passing mental comprehension.' The result, however, of his argument is not very flattering to the judgment of our translators. They thought, it seems, that they could do much better than Bishop Hilsey had done in 1539: he had only the Creed in the Breviary to work from, and so he wrote 'immeasurable;' but they had found the *ipsissima verba* of S. Athanasius. Perhaps, Dr. Dowden thinks, they used 'the Greek text printed at Bâle by Bryling about 1540:' or 'they may have had access to more than one Greek text, whether in print or in manuscript, and they may, as I suspect, have used them in a critical spirit for constructing the text that they finally accepted.' A 'critical spirit' is somewhat thrown away upon a mare's nest. The translators had better have stuck to their Latin, which, as everybody now knows, was the original; and Dr. Dowden really should not talk repeatedly of a 'Greek text,' which would suggest to most readers that the formulary was originally Greek. There can be no sort of doubt that the sense of the *Quicumque*, in this passage, is not now represented by 'incomprehensible,' but by 'illimitable,' or 'infinite,' as one Greek version reads ἀμετρος, and another ἀπειρος. 'Infinite' is the rendering proposed by a committee of English bishops in 1872. It is fair to add that the Roman Catholic form of the Creed in the *Garden of the Soul* reads 'incomprehensible,' evidently from our Prayer-Book.

Is the Independence of Church Courts really Impossible? By R. C. MOBERLY, M.A. (Parker, 1886.)

WE naturally expect precise and luminous writing from a son of the late Bishop of Salisbury; and this remarkable pamphlet fulfils all such expectation. In discussing his question, Mr. Moberly takes up the familiar topic which has been urged, in these pages and elsewhere,

in the way of 'Church Defence,' or in order to correct ideal notions of freedom as resulting from Disestablishment, that not the Church only, but *unestablished* religious communities, are necessarily subject to State control ; inasmuch as civil courts entertain appeals from their members for redress of alleged injury through the exercise of internal discipline, and thereupon interpret their doctrinal trust deeds, instead of treating the internal interpretation as final. He grants that this is so in England ; but he boldly asks, Need it be so ? and ought it to be so ? As to the argument that a non-established minister's property-rights are affected by a sentence of his own community against him, Mr. Moberly insists that a distinction must be drawn between private property and official salary, and that there is no 'necessary reason why decisions which affect . . . salary must be referred to,' and reviewed by, 'civil courts.' 'If Mr. A. has forfeited the position, he has forfeited also its emoluments ; and no right whatever which really belongs to him, whether of citizenship or of property, is affected at all.' And the question of forfeiture belongs by right to his own ecclesiastical authorities, not to the civil courts. Mr. Moberly shows with great fulness that American law goes on this principle, and respects the decision of the religious body ; expressly denying any vested right as constituted by a compact between that body and the officer who takes service under its jurisdiction, and is paid his salary while he holds his post, but may be deprived of the post by its authority. The Supreme Court of Illinois in 1871 declared that 'the sentence of the Church judicatory, in a proper case, deprives of the position, and salary and emoluments are gone.' In Scotland the civil court would not examine the soundness of an ecclesiastical court's judgment before enforcing its civil consequences. Mr. Moberly admits that the Scottish 'Church courts' have a large infusion of laymen ; but he contends that a court so constituted is not less ecclesiastical, and that this 'is purely an internal Church question,' which does not affect 'the question of the compatibility of Establishment and Freedom.' We should say that the difference between English and Scottish law-authorities on the matter is to be explained by the far higher belief which the Scottish people, as a whole, entertain as to the distinct existence and rights of the Kingdom of Christ in presence of the kingdom of this world ; and that the American lawyers are not swayed by a traditional notion of the necessity of 'keeping the clergy under the authority of the Crown,'—a notion which, as Mr. Moberly observes, has led our lawyers 'instinctively' to treat unestablished communions in a manner somewhat analogous to that in which the Established Church was treated. Thus, 'the practice of English law courts towards nonconformists, being itself a mere shadow of the English tradition towards Establishment, can contribute nothing whatever to determine . . . the question of the necessity or wisdom of the English tradition.' Mr. Moberly claims that an 'established' Church ought to be 'more trusted by the State, and endowed with more powers and facilities,' than the unestablished bodies. But here is precisely the difficulty, that the secular power in England is habitually mistrustful of the Church. It was not so, indeed, in the brief period

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during which a personal monarch was 'supreme as Churchman, acting Churchmanly'; a condition supposed in the theory of the Royal Supremacy, but lost in the supremacy of a 'heterogeneous parliament.' Mr. Moberly asks whether, since 'royal supremacy' has become a misnomer, 'it is wise or conservative to continue to be enamoured of the phrase?' and regrets that 'the Ecclesiastical Courts Commissioners, in their tenderness to the venerable but shifting conception of the royal supremacy, have, after all, essentially left the Privy Council court, and with it the elements of the former complications.' This is precisely the point which makes their Report unacceptable.

The History of the Parish and Manor of Wookey: being a Contribution towards a future History of the County of Somerset.
By THOMAS SCOTT HOLMES, M.A., Vicar of the Parish.
(Bristol: C. T. Jefferies and Sons.)

THE parish of Wookey, as Mr. Holmes admits, 'has no public history.' It has not been the home of any illustrious family; it does not contain any remarkable specimen of architecture, ecclesiastical, military, or domestic. At first sight therefore it might be thought that such a parish would not afford materials for an instructive monograph. Mr. Holmes has, however, produced a book which may fairly take high rank among local histories. He has left no likely source of original information unexplored. The episcopal registers and the capitular archives at Wells, the ancient rolls in the Public Record Office, the manuscripts at Lambeth Palace, and the documents preserved on the spot in the parochial chests have alike been searched to good purpose.

Much of the information collected and duly arranged by Mr. Holmes—the lists of churchwardens, parish clerks, and sextons, and the accounts of the ecclesiastical and parochial endowments—will hardly prove interesting to persons who do not live at Wookey or in its immediate neighbourhood. There are, however, two chapters—that on 'The Manor and the Manor House' and that on 'The Field Names of Wookey'—which deserve the attention of historical students. Mr. Holmes is strongly of opinion 'that the history of a parish would be incomplete unless it gave some account of the history of the lands of a parish,' and he has accordingly been at pains to distinguish between the lord's demesne, the parson's glebe, the common fields, and the lands which were formerly waste and unenclosed. A valuable series of bailiffs' accounts and court-rolls of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries is made to throw light upon the economy of the manor and the condition of the villeins who were subject to the Bishop of Bath and Wells. The exact number of 'ploughings' and the 'manual works' to be done by the different tenants, and the pecuniary value of such services, are clearly stated; and explanations are given of the technical terms that occur in the documents. By carefully noting the names of the inhabitants at different periods, Mr. Holmes arrives at the conclusion that 'the villeins of the fourteenth century became the Church Trustees and

Church Wardens of the sixteenth century,' and it appears that in many cases their descendants continue to dwell in the same locality.

The list of field names, taken from the Tithe Book and from the old court-rolls and bailiffs' accounts already mentioned, is accompanied by etymological and topographical notes, which greatly enhance its value. No parochial history should be without such a list.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Holmes will extend his researches to some of the parishes in the neighbourhood of Wookey. He writes clearly, and he avoids the digressions which are so frequent in local histories. No relic of antiquity escapes his notice, and he duly records the preservation at Wookey of a fragment of Bishop Jocelyn's court house, of an Elizabethan chalice, and of altar rails of the Laudian age. The traditions about Wookey Hole, from which the parish appears to take its name, are given succinctly. It remains to be said that the book opens upon a view of Wookey Church and closes upon a good index. The only omission is that of a general map of the parish, without which some of the references must be obscure to strangers. A few misprints have been overlooked in the Latin extracts, and in one case '*pastura*' has been wrongly translated 'meadows.' It may also be suggested that '*crocus*' should be translated 'saffron' rather than 'crocus,' and that the place called Yenel, which Mr. Holmes cannot identify, is probably Yevel, or Yeovil.

Histoire de l'Ancienne Académie de Montauban et de Puylaurens. Par MICHEL NICOLAS. (Montauban : Forestié, 8vo, 1885.)

THE history of the French Protestant universities is one of considerable interest, and, so far as we have been able to ascertain, Professor Michel Nicolas is the first *savant* who has attempted to write it. When we deal, for instance, with what the old Huguenots called the *Académie* of Montauban, we find ourselves confronted by a state of things totally different from what we have on this side of the Channel. In England, the universities and colleges were no offsprings of the Reformation; they had existed long before Wycliffe and Cranmer; they dated from an epoch when Abélard and Guillaume de Champeaux flourished in France, and although the system of education had received considerable modification, yet they were mediæval establishments, and they entered for a distinct and important share in the national life of the country. In France, on the other hand, where, unfortunately, we cannot help thinking, the reformers broke completely and violently with the traditions of the past, and started *de novo*, instead of being satisfied with such changes as were necessary, the universities or schools which Calvin's followers endeavoured to create were distinctly in opposition to the common life, and constituted a kind of protest against the opinions and religious views of the majority. It was very natural that the Huguenots should wish to have the full benefit, for themselves and for their children, of the intellectual progress inaugurated by the Renaissance; but how could that be brought about? If they followed the course of lectures established at the old universities, they must submit to observances, and

take a part in, or at any rate be witnesses of, religious ceremonies, which were utterly repugnant to their consciences. In order to remove the difficulty, some persons had proposed that to each educational centre should be attached a Protestant rector assisted by a lecturer, who should have under their joint control all those of their coreligionists *in statu pupillari*; it is not, however, hard to see that such a scheme was impossible, and if any further proof of this fact was wanted, we might find it in the circumstance that although, by virtue of Article xi. in the Edict of Beaulieu, King Henry III. ordered that all the schools in France should admit pupils independently of their religious belief, this clause was never carried out. But, it will perhaps be asked, could not the Huguenot students be satisfied with the education given at Geneva, at Sedan, and at Orthez, and would they not have been sufficiently well prepared in those three towns for the ministry, or for any branch of literary and scientific knowledge? This is perfectly true, and yet the result would not have been satisfactory. The synods of the French Protestant Church wished, of course, to exercise strict and undivided control over the schools and lectures frequented by the students, and all they would do in the case of foreign universities or academies, such as the three we have just mentioned, was to accept gratefully the aid they were disposed to grant. Hence the foundation of the *Académies* of Montauban and of Saumur, which took place immediately after the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes by Henry IV. It is the former of these more particularly which Professor Michel Nicolas has considered on the present occasion. The volume is divided into three parts, treating respectively (1) of the general history of the *Académie*, the character of its studies, and the result of its teaching; (2) of the various lecturers appointed by the French synods; (3) of the principal scholars and *savants* who received their education at Montauban. With reference to the first of these topics, we notice that during the seventeenth century two principal causes came to imperil the efficiency of the Huguenot university, and to cripple its energy. The religious wars, ending by the siege of the town of Montauban itself, would have been almost enough to bring about the ruin of the young institution; but we must further take into consideration the distracted state of the Protestants themselves, their controversies, and their bitter quarrels. Composing, as it were, the minority in France, it was surely their safest policy to keep closely together, so as to offer a firm and unbroken front to the common enemy. Instead of this they were split up into two distinct parties, entertaining against each other sentiments of animosity, we had almost said hatred, far stronger than those which the entire community felt against the Roman Catholics. Some were strongly in favour of resisting to the death the action of the government, and of carrying on the war to the bitter end. Others, on the contrary, recommended a system of concessions, and would have tried to pacify the King, whose overwhelming forces, backed by the immense majorities of the nation, they could not hope to resist for any period of time. Under these circumstances it is perfectly astonishing that the *Académie* of Montauban should have survived as long as it did; but

the end came at last, and in 1659, in consequence of a conflict between the Protestants and the Catholics, Louis XIV. gave to the latter the buildings which had originally belonged to the college, and the head-quarters of the lectures were transferred to the small town of Puylaurens in the neighbourhood ; there they remained till 1685, when they were suppressed, like all other Huguenot institutions, by the ruthless hand of the Grand Monarque.

Passing over the list of professors, which does not contain any name of great reputation, we come to the catalogue of the scholars, a brilliant one in every respect ; amongst the *littérateurs* we find Jean Claude, La Placette, Abbadie, and Elie Benoist. The first of these, it will be remembered, had the dangerous honour of a discussion with Bossuet, who was endeavouring to bring back Mademoiselle de Duras to the Catholic faith ; the sobriquet of *Nicole Protestant* given to La Placette shows what reputation he enjoyed as a writer on ethical philosophy. Madame de Sévigné placed Abbadie's *Traité de la Vérité de la Religion chrétienne* above all works of the same kind ; as for Elie Benoist, his *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes* is still considered an excellent work on the subject of which it treats. Daniel Chamier amongst the controversial writers, Villemandy amongst the philosophers, and Bonafoy amongst the 'pasteurs' deserve also to be mentioned. It is a matter of much regret that Professor Nicolas, in this division of his work, should have merely given us a dry list of names with a very few notes ; for further details the reader will do well to consult M. Henri Bordier's new edition of *La France Protestante*, now in course of publication.

Our author has completed his volume by an appendix of *pièces justificatives* and a very full list of proper names ; he thus enables his readers to form a correct idea of what the constitution and teaching of the Huguenot colleges were between the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of France and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The only fault we have to find with the work is that of being too abridged, and, as a consequence, too dry.

Mer (Loir-et-Cher), son église réformée : établissement, vie intérieure, décadence, restauration. Par PAUL DE FÉLICE, Pasteur. (Paris : Grassart, 1885.)

M. PAUL DE FÉLICE has recently published in an unpretending but excellent volume a monograph which we recommend unhesitatingly to our readers. The history of the French Reformation has often been written, and we might name on that interesting subject many works which enjoy deserved reputation. Where, however, the field to be covered is so wide, details on points of administration, discipline, and inward life are, as a matter of course, completely out of the question, and no particular locality can be singled out for separate investigation except those which have been marked by striking events in the annals of the last three centuries. We have in a recent number of this Review given a short account of the volume devoted by Professor Nicolas to a description of the University of Montauban ; but here again only one phase of the history of the Huguenots

—the educational one—was described, whereas what we should have liked to know was the life of a parish, its origin, its development, its progress, and the relations existing between the religious minority, their Catholic neighbours, and the government of the country. Now that is precisely what M. Paul de Félice has done, and, *exceptis exceptiendis*, the history of the Reformed Church of Mer is very much the same as that of the other Huguenot communities.

The work we are now noticing is subdivided into four books, corresponding respectively to the four following subjects: 1. The origin of the Church at Mer, and its growth, till the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes. 2. The life of the Church (discipline, organization, &c.) during the seventeenth century. 3. The gradual persecution, the Revocation of the Edict, and the apparent suppression of Protestantism in France. 4. Freedom of conscience and of worship at last restored. The second part of the book is to our mind the most interesting of the four, but as M. de Félice very accurately remarks, its composition presented the greatest difficulties; we know, indeed, pretty well, from the pages of history both published or MS., the political existence of a Huguenot community; but when it comes to points of ecclesiastical organization, parish life, and other details of the same nature, researches are more complicated and answers are proportionately less readily obtained. Construction of the churches, nomination of the ministers, functions of the consistories, financial management, meetings of the synods, &c.—all those points require to be elucidated by any historian who aims at being exact, and with that view it is absolutely necessary to draw upon parochial registers, law papers, and family documents, which in certain localities may be plentiful, whilst elsewhere they are entirely or almost entirely wanting through the ravages of time, the carelessness of men, or other causes. Fortunately, if in respect of Mer the printed sources are extremely scanty, it is exactly the reverse so far as MS. authorities are concerned. M. de Félice has had therefore plenty of *pièces justificatives* at his disposal, and he has made admirable use of them. The style of his book is clear, concise, and elegant; an appendix of illustrative documents, and a plan of the small town of Mer (forming now part of the department of Loir-et-Cher), add much interest to the volume, and make it a valuable contribution to the history of the French Protestants from the times of Calvin to the present day.

July

INDEX TO VOL. XXII.

ABB

- ABBOTT, Dr., on the mistakes of Irenæus, 318
 Adams, Rev. A., *Manual for Sick Visitation*, 260
Amiel's Journal: translated by Mrs. Humphry Ward, 253
 Angell James, Mr. J., on the Jewish theocracy, 97
Anglican Pulpit of To-Day, The, 259
 Anselm, S.: his treatise on the purpose of the Incarnation, 352
 Aquinas, S. Thomas, on the four senses of Scripture, 33; on the literal meaning, 37
 Arthur, Mr. W., *Religion without God, and God without Religion*, 498
 Arnold, Dr., on the care for religion as a duty of the State, 106
 Ashwell, Canon: his *Septuagesima Lectures* cited, 277 n.
Athanasian Creed, A Third and more urgent 'Remonstrance' against the Recital of the, 494
 Atomic Theory, the, 65 *sqq.*; ancient speculations on the origin of the material universe, 65; number and continuous magnitude, 66; philosophers who have taught the atomic theory, 67; several modern discoveries anticipated by ancient atomists, 68; the motion of atoms, 69; kinetic and potential energy, 70; the combination of atoms: an insuperable difficulty, 71; opinions of Gassendi, Maxwell, Prof. Clifford, and Prof. Tyndall, 72 *sq.*; the force of molecular cohesion, 74; the effect of force working in sub-

CAM

- ordination to an end, 75; Tyndall on the anthropomorphic notion of a Demiourgos, 76; the difficulty of evolving life out of dead matter, 77; Bastian's experiments on spontaneous generation, 78; the doctrine of Bruno, *ib.*; the nebular theory, 79; the real difficulties of the atomic theory, 80; what is meant by 'the continuity of nature,' 81 *sq.*; Dr. Carpenter on the theory of the potency of matter, 83; the origin of sensation, 84; the Epicurean doctrine of free will, 85; Prof. Clifford's doctrine of 'mind-stuff,' 86; Masson's summary thereof, 87 *sqq.*; the proper sphere of the atomic theory, 90
 BARING GOULD, Rev. S., *Our Parish Church*, 492
 Besant, Walter, *Dorothy Forster*, 256
 Bissell, Dr. E. C., *The Pentateuch: its Origin and Structure*, 489
 Boscovitch's theory of atoms, 69
 Brewer, J. S., *The Endowments and Establishment of the Church of England*, 249
 Burgon, Dean, on the testimony of the Fathers in relation to the text of Scripture, 314; on the Revisers' Version, 321
 CAMBRIDGE, the Architectural History of, 448 *sqq.*; the origin, design, and preparation of Prof. Willis's work, 448; the work edited and completed by his nephew, Mr. J. W. Clark, 449; plan

CAR

of the work, 450; the original condition of Cambridge University, 451; the first halls and hotels, 452; Walter de Merton, 453; the Hospital of S. John, 454; the charter of incorporation of Malden, 455; transfer of the *domus* to Oxford, 456; the statutes remodelled by Bishop Montacute for Peterhouse, Cambridge, 457; the course of study prescribed, *ib.*; character of the buildings, 458; religious provisions for students, 459; Pembroke College, Cambridge, 460; William of Wykeham, 461; his architectural instinct, 462; his character, 463; 'Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre in Oxenforde,' 464; imitations of Wykeham's architecture, 465; sanitary provisions, 466; Queen's College, Cambridge, 467 *sq.*; its 'stage house,' 469; the Colleges of Corpus Christi and Jesus, 470; 'Chambers' and 'Studies,' 471; origin of the term 'chum,' *ib.*; description of the chambers, 472; 'Common Rooms,' 473; the 'Cardinal's Hatte' and the 'Fetcher,' 474; youthful age of graduates, 475; libraries and books, 476; tennis courts, 477; bowling greens, archery, 478
 Carlisle, Bishop of, on the gospel history of our Lord's Birth, 13
 Carpenter, Dr., on the 'force sense,' 83; on the lasting influence of early habits, 316
 Casaubon, Isaac, as a Churchman, 115 *sqq.*; his parentage and early training, 116; his ill treatment by the Genevan authorities, 117; removal to Montpellier, *ib.*; his *Ephemerides*, 118; his connexion with the De Vics, and reception by Henri IV., 118; a trap set to 'convert' him, 119; signs of his wavering, 120; his relations with Du Perron, 121; Casaubon settles in England, 122; his friends there, 123; his relations with James I., 124; his death and funeral, 125; his opinion of the English Church, 126
 Cassander George, 146 *sqq.*; his

COM

candid and conciliatory spirit, 146; his works known to but few, 147; origin of his name, 148; his desire for peace among Christians, *ib.*; his views on Scripture, 'Catholic tradition,' and 'unwritten verity,' 148 *sq.*; his position in regard to the Roman Church, 150; his views of the kind of reformation needed, 151; Calvin's attack on the *De Officio pii viri*, 152; Cassander's rejoinder, 153; his relations with the Emperor Ferdinand, 153 *sqq.*; the origin of *The Consultation of Cassander*, 155; sketch of its contents, 155 *sqq.*; Cassander's opinions on rites and ceremonies, 158; on clerical celibacy and the monastic state, 159; on Communion under both species, 160; his letters to learned friends, 161
 Church Reform, 205 *sqq.*; its alleged urgent necessity, 205; the question must not be shirked, 206; examination of the cry for Church Reform, 207; the word 'Reform' in this case is an hyperbole, 208; the persons who raise the cry, 209; avowed infidels, 209 *sq.*; Nonconformists, 210; Churchmen, 211; the proposals made, 212: the sale of livings, 213; the treatment of 'criminous clerks,' 214; the abolition of aged incumbents, 215; the 'autocracy of the clergy,' 216 *sq.*; proposed 'parochial councils,' 218; the redistribution of Church property, 219; the remuneration of curates, 220; the average gross income of the beneficed clergy, 221; the course for Churchmen to adopt in regard to Church Reform, 222 *sq.*
 Clerk Maxwell, Professor, on the atomic theory, 66, 71
 Clifford, Professor, on molecular physics, 68, 70, 73; his theory of 'mind-stuff,' 86 *sqq.*
 Cloquet, Rev. R. L., *An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*, 500
 Comyns Carr, Mr., on English art, 178

CON

Conder, Mr. E., on the relation of the Church to the State, 92, 102, 106

Cornelius à Lapide, The Great Commentary of (translated by T. W. Mossman), 260

Cur Deus Homo? or the Purpose of the Incarnation, 352 *sqq.*; S. Anselm's treatment of the question, 353; need of an answer on broader ground, 354 *sq.*; prevalence of inadequate teaching on the mission of the 'Second Man,' 356; the testimonies of Holy Scripture to the purpose of the Incarnation, 257 *sqq.*; other texts interpreted by their light, 360 *sq.*; other auxiliary evidence, 362; the purposed restoration of man to God's likeness, 363; varying degrees of this resemblance, 364; the effect of belief in this doctrine, 365 *sqq.*

DAILY Life, 504

Derry and Raphoe, the Bishop of, *The Great Question, and other Sermons*, 230

Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. V., 258

Dionysius of Alexandria, on the authorship of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel, 8

Dover, T. B., *The Ministry of Mercy*, 262

Dowden, Rev. Canon, *Quæstionculæ Liturgicæ: What is the meaning of 'Incomprehensible' in the English Version of the Athanasian Creed?* 506

Drummond, Mr., on natural and supernatural law, 52 *n.*; on the Bible and Evolution, 168

EDWARDS, Mr. T. C., *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 493

Ethical Theory, Types of (Dr. J. Martineau's work), 410 *sqq.*; the universal interest of Ethics, 411; connexion of moral error and social crime, 412; the rise and progress of Dr. Martineau's philosophical opinions, 413; 'Is

FIN

there no *ought* to be other than *what is?*' 414 *sq.*; the answer of the determinist school, 416; Dr. Martineau's answer, 417; the right, the beautiful, and the true, 418; the Evolutionary ethics, 419; the effect of the Incarnation and of Christ's teaching, *ib.*; the philosophical system of Plato, 420; subordination of the individual to the society, 421; the claims of authority and the duty of obedience, 422; an ideal society based on the progressive development of humanity, 423 *sq.*; unpsychological theories: Descartes, Malebranche, 425; Spinoza, Comte, 426; psychological theories, 427; Hedonism, Diænetic and Æsthetic Ethics, 428

Evolution of Theology, the, 265 *sqq.*; Prof. Huxley's notion of Theology, 266; the alleged Natural Evolution of Theology, 267; failure of Mr. H. Spencer's attack, 268; the Bible is an evolution, *ib.*; relations of mental philosophy and Evolution, 169 *sqq.*; Personality, Will, 271; Greek nature-worship and hero-worship, 272; anthropomorphic Theology, 272 *n.*; the doctrine of 'Development,' 273 *sq.*; a progress to be discerned in revelation, 275; the so-called difficulties of the Bible, 276; the question of the unscientific form of the Bible account of Creation, 277; Dr. Reusch's treatment thereof, 278 *sqq.*; the nature of Huxley's arguments, 280; the origin of heathen religions, 281; the mystery of the Creator and Ruler has existed in every faith, 282; the origin of the Jewish religion, 283; Huxley's views on the prophets, 284; Philo and Christianity, 285; Huxley's conclusions, 286

FÉLICE, le Pasteur Paul de, *Mer (Loir-et-Cher), son église réformée*, 511

Finch, Rev. W. R., *Some Characteristics of the Passion of our Most Holy Redeemer*, 256

FIS

- Fiske, J., *The Idea of God, as affected by Modern Knowledge*, 251
 Fitzgerald, Bishop, *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, 482

GAIRDNER, J., *Early Chroniclers of Europe: England*, 255
 Gassendi's philosophy, 71 *sqq.*
 Goulburn, Very Rev. Dean, *Holy Week in Norwich Cathedral*, 261
 Gregory the Great, S.: his exegesis of the Book of Job, 34
 Grousset, M. Renée, *Étude sur l'Histoire des Sarcophages Chrétiens*, 243
 Grove, Sir W., on 'the continuity of nature,' 81

HALL, Bishop, and his times, 333 *sqq.*; the great names among his contemporaries, 333; notice of Mr. Lewis's Life of Hall, 334; Hall's parentage and early training, 385; at Cambridge, 336; Emmanuel College and its founder, *ib.*; Hall's ordination, 337; his Puritan training, 338; his life at Halsted and Waltham, 339 *sq.*; appointed Dean of Worcester, 340; the attempt to establish the English Church in Scotland, 341; Hall at the Synod of Dort, 342; appointed Bishop of Exeter, *ib.*; Laud's influence on him, 343; the *Book of Sports*, 344; Hall's translation to Norwich, 345; commitment to the Tower on a charge of high treason, *ib.*; the last years of his life, *ib.*; his character, 346; his *Satires*, 347; his devotional works, 348; exegetical works, 349; Hall as a casuist, 350; his defence of Episcopacy, *ib.*; his power of sarcasm, 351; his excellent Latin style, 352
 Hawkins, Rev. Canon, *Sick-Bed Services*, 260
Hebraica: a Quarterly Journal in the interests of Hebrew Study, 237
 Holmes, Rev. T. S., *The History of*

INT

the Parish and Manor of Wookey, 508
 Home Mission-Work in large towns, 287 *sqq.*; the parochial system inadequate to the demand for sudden concentration, 288; the misery and corruption found in large towns, 289; physical and social dangers thence arising, 290; moral degeneracy, 291 *sq.*; dense ignorance of Christian truth, 293; hopes founded on the spread of education, 294; Saturday schools, 295; cultivation of friendly relations with all, 296; the ideal mission-priest, 297; suggested improvement in diocesan organization, *ib.*; management of mission posts, 298; 'free teas' and the like deprecated, 299; the educational preferred to the revivalistic method, 300; growth of the spirit of reverence, 301; confession, 302; constant reference to first principles, 303; 'said' or 'sung' services, 304; position for mission buildings, 305; short and plain sermons, 306; regular form of service, 307; prayer meetings, 308; church work among the artisan class, 308 *sq.*
 Hood, E. Paxton, *The Throne of Eloquence*, 261
 Hook, Rev. W. F., *The Last Days of our Lord's Ministry*, 261
 Huxley, Professor, on the atomic theory, 68; the Evolution of Theology, 265 *sqq.*

IMMORTALITY: a Clerical Symposium, &c., 490
 Interpretation, the History of (Arch-deacon Farrar's Bampton Lectures), 429 *sqq.*; importance of the subject, 429; what is involved in 'interpretation,' 430 *sq.*; the principles applied to Holy Scripture, generally, 432; to the New Testament, 433 *sq.*; the contents of Dr. Farrar's work, 435; its style, 436; his treatment of the Rabbis, 437; of the Alexandrian School, 438; his criticism of the

JEN

LXX, 438 *sq.*; on Church tradition, 440; the Schoolmen, 441; S. Thomas Aquinas on the Divine Will, 442; Dr. Farrar's bias against ecclesiasticism, 443; against exegesis, 444; the evolution of truth, 445; Church tradition is the principle of evolution, 447

JENNINGS and Lowe, Messrs., on the exegesis of the Christian Fathers, 24
Jukes, Mr., *The Types of Genesis*, 30, 52, 62 *sq.*

KNOWLES, Rev. J. D., *Pastoral Comforts*, 492

LEE, Archdeacon, on Inspiration, 14
Lyall, Edna: her novels, 367 *sqq.*; the author's sympathy with the atheist in his social position, 368; the hostility to religion among Socialists and Nihilists, 319; the explanation of the connexion between Atheism and Socialism, 370; the case of Karl Marx, 371; Edna Lyall's *Donovan* criticised, 372 *sqq.*; palliation of atheism, 373; the mixture of infidelity with Christian graces, 374; how to deal with declared enemies of the Faith, 375; need of absolute fairness, of moderation, and of charity, 376; difficulties arising out of social or domestic relations, 377; the alleged social isolation of the atheist, 378; the literary merit of Edna Lyall's tales, 379

MARTENSEN, Bishop, on sacred symbolism, 39
Materialism in Modern Art, 162 *sqq.*; the artist and his message, 162; the dominant idea in different artists, 163; artists always in harmony with the feelings of their age, 164; the works of

MON

Michael Angelo, 165 *sq.*; close of the era of mystical abstraction, 167; materialism the religion of modern science, 168; the function of the faculty of imagination, 169; fashionable art, 170; 'realistic' art, 171; 'literalism,' 172; 'George Eliot's' novels, 173; Sir W. Scott's, 175; Victor Hugo, 176; Balzac, Zola, 177; the stage, *ib.*; modern sculpture, 178; decorative art, 179; genre-painting, 180 *sqq.*; French painting and novels, 182; landscape painting, 183 *sq.*; dramatic action in landscape, 185; patriotic predilections of English artists, 187; the true origin of the sense of beauty, 188

Maudsley, Dr.: his *Natural Causes and Supernatural Seemings* cited, 284 *n.*

Meyrick, Rev. F., *The Doctrine of the Church of England on the Holy Communion*, 224; rejoinder to his reply to the criticism of this Review, 479 *sqq.*

Moberly, Rev. R. C., *Is the Independence of Church Courts really Impossible?* 506

Monumental Evidences of Christianity, 381 *sqq.*; Palestine: Jacob's Well, Calvary, 382; the Bordeaux Pilgrim's Itinerary, 383; negative results of Palestine exploration, 384; Ephesus: the three temples, 385; an early Christian tombstone, 385; the date of S. Polycarp's martyrdom, 386; fragments found in Rome, 387; a roll of martyrs in the Callixtine Cemetery, 388; burial clubs of early Roman Christians, 389; the Cemetery of Priscilla, 390; of Domitilla, 391; the symbol of 'the cruciform anchor,' 392; the fresco of Petronilla, 393; the alleged intimacy of S. Paul with Seneca, 394; the *graffiti* at Pompeii, 395; the symbol of the Fish, 396; Christians 'stigmatized' with the cross, 397; the story of S. Cæcilia, 398 *sq.*; Christian epitaphs in Gaul, 400; the martyrdoms of Vienne and Lyons, 401; an epi-

MOS

taph at Grotta Ferrata, 402; early British Christian monuments, 403; local saints of Cornwall, 404; S. Kentigern, or Mungo, the apostle of Strathclyde, 405; examples of the *labarum*, 406; monuments of Spain, 407; the Malabar 'Christians of S. Thomas,' 408; Nestorian Christianity in China. *ib.*; the harvest of the archæologist, 409

Mossman, T. W., translation of *The Great Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide*, 260

Miall, Mr., on alliance between Church and State, 98, 103, 114

Mildmay, Sir Walter (founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge), anecdote of, 336

Mystical Interpretation of Holy Scripture, the, 22 *sqq.*; the early Christian and mediæval treatment of 'types,' 22; the modern critical system, 23; opponents of the patristic system of exegesis, 24; mystical interpretation was of old general in the Church, 25; was it a survival of Jewish exegesis? 26; the method of our Lord, 26 *sq.*; that of the Apostles and Evangelists, 27 *sq.*; the basis of a *reasonable* mystical exegesis, 29; the method of Drs. Neale and Littledale, 30; Origen's systematization of the modes of interpretation, 31 *sq.*; S. Thomas Aquinas' explanation of the fourfold system of interpretation, 33; illustration of mystical interpretation from S. Gregory the Great, 34 *sq.*; an error of Origen's considered, 36 *sq.*; consideration of a Mystical Interpretation on a rational basis, 38 *sqq.*; treatment of symbolical narratives, 38; mystical character of many of the Psalms, 39; parables, 40; ritual and other ordinances of Divine appointment, 41; the use of numbers, *ib.*; numbers associated with a symbolic meaning, 43 *sq.*; mystical treatment of passages of which the primary meaning is historical, 45 *sqq.*; of symbolical

NON

facts, 47; of Messianic prophecies, 49; the scope of the Bible embraces the whole world, 50; justification of the principle of the patristic methods, 51; natural law and spiritual law akin, 52; the four Living Beings and the Evangelists, 54 *sq.*; a legitimate application of Mystical Interpretation 56 *sqq.*; Mr Jukes's treatment of the Types of Genesis, 62

NEW Books, New Editions, &c., 263

New Testament, the, and Professor Salmon's Introduction, 1 *sqq.*; *esprit* of the author, 2; style of the work, 3; methods of treating free criticism of the Bible, 4; the method of 'pious horror,' 5; the sympathetic method, 6; Prof. Salmon's treatment of the Johanne books, 7; the genuineness of S. John's Gospel, *ib.*; identity of authorship of the Apocalypse and the Gospel, 8; date of the Apocalypse, 9; the sacramental doctrine of S. John, 10; estimate of the results of the work, 11 *sqq.*; the questions of the relations of Inspiration and authorship, 12, 21; of historical accuracy and Inspiration, 13; proof of the truth of the New Testament precedes proof of its Inspiration, 14; Archdeacon Lee's views, 15; the question of imperfections in inspired writers, 16; a good scientific treatise on Inspiration considered, 17; different position of the Church and of some sects towards the Bible, 18; the Church, not an invention, but an institution, 19; Holy Scripture, the record of what she was commissioned to teach, 20 *sq.*

Nicolas, M. Michel, *Histoire de l'ancienne Académie de Montauban et de Puylaurens*, 509

Nourrisson, M. F., *Pascal, Physicien et Philosophe*, 245

Nonconformist objections to the Establishment, 91 *sqq.*; mean-

OFF

ings of the terms 'Church' and 'State,' 92; what is meant by the 'Establishment,' 93; Harwood's definition of a State Church, 94; the theory that Church and State are identical, 95; objections of Liberationists classified, 96; the argument for Establishment founded on the Jewish model, 97; lack of appeals to Scripture by the Liberationists, 98; the argument from 'Render unto Cæsar,' &c., 99; from 'My Kingdom is not of this world,' 100 *sq.*; irrelevant objections, 102; the charge of interference with rights of conscience, 104; the views of Parker, Bishop of Oxford, 105 *sq.*; statistics of the number of Nonconformists, 107 *sq.*; the charge that the State Church corrupts and degrades religion, 108; Church legislation by a mixed Parliament, 109; the supposed bondage of Church to State, 110; the objection that the Establishment is inimical to practical efficiency, 112; the inferior social position of Nonconformists, 114; would Disestablishment remove sentimental grievances? 114

OFFICIAL *Year-Book of the Church of England*, 247
 Origen's theory of a triple sense in Scripture, 31
Oxford House Papers, Nos. I.-VIII., 495

PARKER, Bishop Samuel: his *Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie*, 105
 Patristic interpretations of Scripture in the second century, 310 *sqq.*; high value of early patristic works to the student, 311; date of the MSS., 312; disputed readings, 313; early corruption of the New Testament text, 314; the Fathers as interpreters of the sacred text, 315; the value of Irenæus for doctrine, 316; texts differently

PUL

explained by the same author, 317; blunders as to facts, *ib.*; influence of controversial bias, 318; cases where there was no traditional interpretation, 319; where the writer states that he gives the traditional interpretation, 320; a *consensus patrum* as to a tradition, 321; cases to be judged on their own merits, 322; the Fathers useful for actual translation, 323; the translation of ποιεῖν in S. Luke xxii. 19, 324 *sqq.*; its use in various Liturgies, 326 *sqq.*; in the LXX, 328 *n.*; the meaning of ἀνοθεῖν in S. John iii. 3; of ἐκδόσεων in S. John xix. 13; of δοκμαῖς τὰ διαφέροντα in Rom. ii. 18, Phil. i. 10; of θεωρυγείς in Rom. i. 30, 330 *sq.*; a suggested Theological Texts Society, 332
 Pattison, Rev. Mark: his monograph on Isaac Casaubon, 122
 Perron, Cardinal du: his relations with Casaubon, 121
 Powell, F. York, *History of England: Part I.*, 255
 Poynter, Mr., on Decorative Art, 178; on French painting, 183
 Pressensé, M. E. de: his *Les Origines* cited, 273 *n.*, 280 *n.*, 283 *n.*
Pulpit Commentary, The: II Corinthians, 239
 Pulpit, the influence of the, 126 *sqq.*; Dr. Chalmers as a preacher, 127; the early preaching of Dr. Newman, 128; circumstances that have contributed to raise the standard of preaching, 129; requirements still to be met, 130; the exposition of the faith the Church's primary and essential work, 131; need of instruction in the constitution and privileges of the Church, 133; the defence of the faith against attacks from without, 135; the difficulty of dealing with the imperfectly educated classes, 137; the maintenance of the moral tone of social life, 138; good work done by our Evangelical forefathers, 139; Dr. South as a preacher,

RAE

140; Bossuet, 142; the style of S. Augustine, 143; Bourdaloue, 144; Massillon, 145.

RAE, Mr. J., *Contemporary Socialism*, 368, 371, 380
 Randolph, Rev. W., *Analytical Notes on the First and Three Last of the Minor Prophets*, 242
 Renan, M., on the authenticity of the works of the New Testament, 3, 7, 9
 Rennie, Mr. C. G.: his statistics of the Nonconformists, 108
 Reusch, Dr. F. H., *Nature and the Bible*, 278 *sqq.*
 Réville, M. A.: his *Prolegomènes de l'Histoire des Religions* cited, 273 *n.*, 278 *n.*
 Ruskin, Mr., on the poetry of landscape, 186

SADLER, Rev. M. F., on differences between inspired writers, 12; *The Gospel according to S. Luke, with Notes, &c.*, 329 *n.*, 487
 Salmon, Professor, *An Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament*, 1 *sqq.*
 Sanday, Rev. Dr., on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, 7; on the need of a Theological Texts Society, 332
 Schürer, Dr. Emil, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, 241
 Schwab, M. Moïse, *Le Talmud de Jérusalem, traduit pour la première fois*, 238
 Singer, Dr., on Dr. Donaldson's *Book of Jashar*, 5
 Société des Etudes Juives: *Annuaire pour 1885; Revue* (Oct.-Dec. 1885), 238
 South, Dr.: specimens of the style of his sermons, 141
 Stanley, Dean, on obedience to the civil magistrate, 99

WES

Stoughton, Rev. J., *Golden Legends of the Olden Time*, 257
 Sykes, Rev. J., on the doctrine of the One Holy Catholic Church, 133

THIRTY Thousand Thoughts, XII.—XV. (Edited by Canon Spence, &c.), 492
 Thomson, Sir W.: the vortex ring theory, 70
 Trench, Archbishop, on S. Augustine as an interpreter of Scripture, 319
 Tulloch, Rev. J., *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century*, 234
 Tyndall, Professor, on molecular physics, 71 *sqq.*; on a First Cause, 73; on spontaneous generation, 78; 'the continuity of matter,' 81 *sq.*; avows himself a materialist, 90

VEITCH, Professor, on the atomic theory, 66, 71, 74

WARD, Mrs. H., Translation of *Amiel's Journal*, 253
 Warington, Mr. G., on Inspiration, 17, 21
 Watson, Ellen, 188 *sqq.*; her birth and early years, 190; her studies and home life, 191; beginning of ill health, 192; her friendships, *ib.*; mathematical and scientific studies, 193; Professor Clifford's opinion of her, 194; her struggle towards faith, 195; appointed to the Diocesan School, Graham's Town, 196; religious conviction, 197; receives Confirmation, 198; her fragmentary papers, 199; on the education of girls, 200; her 'Credo of Sorrow,' 202; suddenness of her death, 203; subjective character of her idea of religion, *ib.*; her lack of theological instruction, 204; her attitude towards religion, 205
 Westcott, Canon, on the Johannine books, 9, 10

legends

line of
church,

oughts,
Canon

ex ring

Augus-
Scrip-

of Re-
n dur-
y, 234
molecular
First
s gene-
uity of
nself a

n the
74

ution of
aration,

er birth
studies
ning of
dships,
cientific
lifford's
truggle
nted to
raham's
viction,
n, 198 ;
99 ; on
00 ; her
sudden-
subjec-
of reli-
ological
ude to-

mannine